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RECORDS
OF THE
American Catholic Historical Society
OF
PHILADELPHIA

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Volume XXIV



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1913

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BY

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF PHILADELPHIA



Records
of the
**American Catholic
Historical Society**
of
Philadelphia

WITH WHICH IS COMBINED
AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

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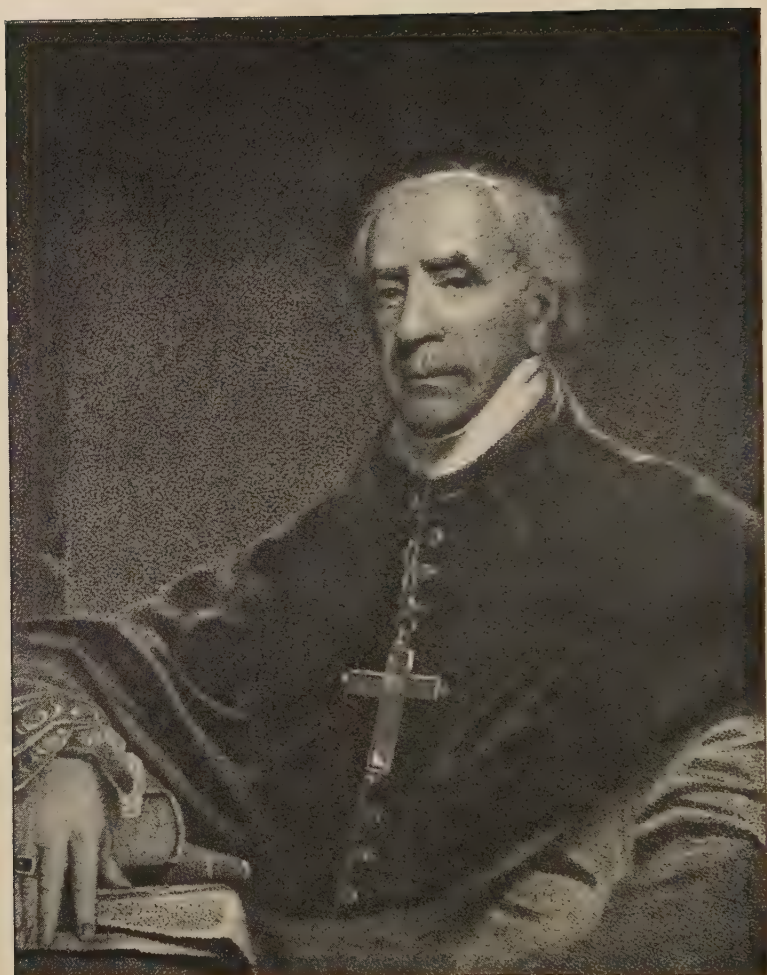
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Henry Conwell

The RIGHT. REV. HENRY CONWELL, Second Bishop of Philadelphia.
Born *c.* 1745; ordained priest *c.* 1776; consecrated Bishop of Philadelphia, September 24, 1820; died April 22, 1842.

Deipara Virgine Duce

(Be my Guide, Virgin Mother of God).

Portrait from an engraving by H. Bridport, from a painting by John Neagle, 1826.

RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. XXIII

MARCH, 1913

NO. I

SUNDRY LANDMARK NOTABILIA OF OUR SOCIETY

BEFORE magnifying our prospects in this new stage of our labors, it may instruct us to dwell briefly in retrospect over the founding and early growth of our organization. For an early account of the rise of the Society we have the narrative summary furnished by Mr. Francis T. Furey in the first volume of the Society's *Records* (pp. 10-22). That this account is drawn up from authentic sources we may justly infer from the fact that Mr. Furey was then the Recording Secretary. The memoranda thus gathered by one of the Society's officers, at almost the birth of the Society, are peculiarly valuable; "they have never been disputed; and except for some lacunae in the description of the doings of the Society, which might need some slight further amplification, they are believed to be wholly correct."

Among lacunae still within our facilities to supply, we might cite certain details and incidents of the Society's practical inception. Mr. Furey's account mentions that "A few, very few, gentlemen met in the office of Mr. Griffin's *Journal*", at 711 Sansom Street. But the date

of their meeting was not July 4th, as printed in the circular invitation which was issued with a view towards winning support and patronage of the proposed movement. "July 4th" was deemed a suitable date for heading an appeal in behalf of a purely historical project, but the precise day of the month when the pioneers of the the incipient Society broached their designs in Mr. Griffin's office appears to have escaped formal chronicling. At all events we have positive assurance that the day was not July 4th, although it was certainly before July 22d, the date set for the general meeting. We sincerely regret that no definite memorandum is available for fixing the exact date of the month and to say with certainty who all were present when our Society was projected in embryo, so to speak, at that informal meeting in Mr. Griffin's office. Dr. William J. Campbell sets the day "near but not on July 4th": "on an early July afternoon in 1884". The Rev. Dr. Middleton, who attended this meeting, recalls Mr. Thompson Wescott as one of those present and distinctly remembers that: "it was a dull day outside; cloudy, even gloomy, when the meeting was held in Mr. Griffin's office; with so little light therein that the writer had to get near one of the windows in order to read some memoranda bearing on the purpose of the meeting. But what day that meeting was held he does not remember."

Not even the minutely detailed records of meteorology suffice, in this instance, to fix that particular day of the month when the sky was dull, "cloudy, even gloomy, when the meeting was held in Mr. Griffin's office". According to the Weather Bureau's data for July, 1884, there was continual cloudy weather during the first three weeks of the month; fair days were the exception, and we find repeated entries of either wholly or partly overcast days, "foul weather sunsets". In this respect the data might prove applicable to any one of the various

dates—July 1st, 3d, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 17th, 18th.

How many previous informal and unofficial conferences occurred before this colloquium from which emanated the letter of invitation that led to the formal organization of the Society on July 22, 1884, we cannot exactly pronounce; neither when nor where, with absolute precision. In an appendix we shall subjoin the accounts of those meetings as given by two noteworthy pioneers of the movement.

We have nowadays before us the living growth of the Society: "great oaks from little acorns grow", and posterity tends rather to admire the oak than to concern itself too curiously with circumstantial questions as to who first picked up the acorn, who carried it hence thither, who covered it with the first handful of earth, who first perceived the sprouting thereof above the surface. This much we can say with certainty, that the circular letter of invitation which resulted in the formation of the Society, July 22, 1884, was directly born of an equally certain, but informal and unofficial, colloquium at an unverified date of the month, although manifestly before July 22, in the office of Mr. Griffin, 711 Sansom Street.

We reproduce the full text of the invitation circular which led to the organization of the Society on July 22, 1884.

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PHILADELPHIA, *July 4, 1884.*

Dear Sir:

You are invited to be present at a meeting to be held upon Tuesday afternoon, July 22d, 1884, at 3½ o'clock, for the purpose of organizing a CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The necessity of such an organization is apparent to every one. The early history of the Catholics of this section of the

United States is comparatively unknown, and, as time passes, many valuable records and traditions will be lost unless gathered by the industry of Catholic students and others who may take an interest in the work.

To develop this interest and direct it towards a practical end, to extend historical research so as to cover American Catholic history, and to make plain the early work of the Church and its children in America, will be among the proposed objects of the Society.

Nothing has yet been done towards organization. The undersigned have thought it best to call a meeting, at which all could express their views and adopt some plan of organization.

Trusting that you will attend the meeting, we are,

Respectfully yours,

P. A. JORDAN, S.J.,

IGN. F. HORSTMANN,

JOHN J. ELCOCK,

THOS. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.,

P. BERESFORD,

CHAS. H. A. ESLING,

FRANCIS T. FUREY,

W. J. CAMPBELL, M.D.,

J. CARROLL McCaffrey,

F. X. REUSS,

JOHN H. CAMPBELL,

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN.

By the courtesy of the Cathedral T. A. B. Society the meeting will be held at their Hall, 16th street, above Vine, at the time named.

Those who responded by attending the appointed meeting were Messrs. George D. Wolff, John H. Campbell, William J. Campbell, M. D., Thompson Westcott, Robert M. McWade, Edward J. Nolan, M. D., Michael O'Hara, M. D., Francis X. Reuss, Bernard L. Douredoure, Atlee Douredoure, William Gorman, Martin I. J. Griffin, and the Rev. Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A. There was also present a member of the Paulist community of New York: the Rev. Thomas McMillan, who happened to be then in Philadelphia.

Mr. John H. Campbell, who called the meeting to order, was chosen President pro tempore; Mr. Griffin,

Secretary pro tempore. The Hall of the Cathedral T. A. B. Society was thankfully accepted for future meetings until such time as the Historical Society might provide for itself. In fine, the new Society became officially organized at this first meeting; and therefore we may correctly date the actual beginning of the Catholic Historical Society from July 22, 1884. All preliminary discussions had been informal and unofficial. A circular address to the public was prepared, and distributed in presumably interested quarters, under date of November 24, 1884. Membership was therewith solicited at the rates of \$5 yearly for active members, \$50 for life members, and \$2 yearly for contributing members.

The first public meeting of members was held in the Hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on Thursday evening, April 30, 1885. Since this public meeting was graced by the presence of the late, venerated Archbishop Ryan, we may here appropriately quote from the personal reminiscences of Father Middleton, with reference to the once debated question: Should the roll of members include none but Catholics; or was it advisable to enroll names outside the faith? "My dear Father," answered His Grace: "of course, of course, you will surely take them; you will harm them not, and much they will learn will do them good. By all means let them join you." In this connection, besides Mr. Thompson Wescott, the historiographer of Philadelphia, we might recall two other cordial friends of the Society in its early period who were not of the Catholic Church: namely, Mr. Robert Coulton Davis and Mr. Philip Syng Physic Conner, "both warm sympathizers with our movement as well as donors of exceedingly rare and valuable Catholic curios".

A word or so in review of the time and place of official meetings of the organized Society. First, at the meeting

of December 3, 1884, and "with a view to securing, if possible, a larger attendance of members," it was decided to hold the next (the second quarterly) meeting in the afternoon; "an innovation which has developed into a practice". The first step in behalf of public meetings was taken on December 10, 1884; but more than four months elapsed before the first actual public meeting (as mentioned above), on April 30, 1885. The meeting of December 10, 1884, likewise marks the step of permanent organization in respect to officers. These first permanent officers are named in a circular to the public under date of January 9, 1885, to wit: the Rev. Thomas C. Middleton, O. S. A., President; Martin I. J. Griffin, First Vice-President; Chas. H. A. Esling, Second Vice-President; Atlee Douredoure, Treasurer; Fras. T. Furey, Secretary; F. X. Reuss, Corresponding Secretary. As further constituting and completing the first permanent Board of Managers we note Messrs. B. L. Douredoure, William Gorman, S. Edwin Megargee, Stephen Farrelly, George Dering Wolff, Dr. A. Nebinger, Professor Edward Roth, Lawrence Kehoe (New York), and the Rev. William Stang (Providence). "The changes from these names to the present membership of the Board have taken place on account of death, declination, or expiration of term".

The first resolution in favor of a legal Charter was adopted at the meeting of December 19, 1884; but the Charter was not actually recorded until December 26, 1885. Both the Charter and the Society's seal were donated by Mr. J. Carroll McCaffrey. The skilled penmanship in the draft of the Charter was the handiwork of the donor's brother, Mr. Henry L. McCaffrey.

Touching the place of meetings, the one of December 19, 1884, was "the last held in the Cathedral T. A. B. Hall". For improved convenience of access, "the next

meeting was held, as an experiment, at 711 Sansom Street. On this occasion Mr. John J. O'Rourke, who was among those attending for the first time, extended, on behalf of the Catholic Philopatrian Literary Institute, an invitation to the 'Historical' to meet at the Institute's Hall". . . Considering the central location and other advantages, this offer was thankfully accepted, subject, however, to the payment of a nominal rent; and a committee was appointed to make preparations for removal from Sixteenth Street.

In contrast with those earlier and mobile campings it is altogether comforting to reflect that "the Society now owns a fine old mansion, once occupied by Nicholas Biddle, President of the Bank of the United States"; not to speak of "a good collection of books, manuscripts and relics". Let the latter clauses encourage us to repeat in detail the original appeal for memorial contributions of sundry kinds, as presented in the circular dated January 9, 1885. First, "for the Library":

Narratives relating to Catholics and Catholic Missions; Biographical Notices of Eminent and Remarkable Persons; Sketches and Catalogues of Schools, Academies and Colleges; Copies of Records of Proceedings of Religious, Literary, Scientific or Social Bodies; Journals and Newspapers; Manuscripts on any Subject or of any date; Magazines and Pamphlets; Church Almanacs, Directories, Diaries, etc.

For the Cabinet they desired :

Prints, especially of Persons, Church Buildings, etc.; Pictures; Medals; Utensils; Relics; and any Article of Value from its Historical or Biographical Affinities.

So early in the Society's progress as the meeting of May 28, 1885, the Librarian reported 1117 articles collected; which number had fairly doubled itself before the

close of that year: Mr. Furey's report informs us that the increase was marked by 367 items from July to September 17; increase total, to date of December 9, 988 items.

By no means of least significance in the first few years of the Society, was its grace of Apostolic Benediction by favor of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. The bestowal of this Blessing was announced by the Society's President, Father Middleton, on February 18, 1886. Mr. Furey's historical summary also mentions a second visit of attendance by Archbishop Ryan, on the evening of January 7, 1886, when His Grace both responded to a reception tendered him by the Catholic Philopatrian Literary Institute, and also greeted the Society, inspected its "treasures", and right warmly approved its labors. Three women are named in the earliest membership list of the rapidly maturing Society: Mrs. Mark Devine, Miss Mary T. Devine, Mrs. W. T. Sherman, wife of General Sherman. As one reasonably expects, Philadelphia greatly preponderates in the number of members on the first published roll; but there is a respectable minority of membership from eleven States outside Pennsylvania: New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Oregon.

On the other hand, our own Society would appear to have exerted some direct or indirect influence towards the formation of kindred organizations elsewhere, such as the United States Historical Society of New York, the Catholic Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, the Connecticut Valley Historical Society.

We subjoin a few passing notes of other landmark publications during our Society's career. The first volume of *Records* was announced as ready for distribution under date of May 5, 1887. *Volume II* of the *Records*

was announced in a circular dated May 15, 1888; the volume to be ready in November following. *Volume III* appeared in 1891. *By-Laws* were adopted at the December Quarterly Meeting, 1889; a revised issue was voted at the September Quarterly Meeting in 1892; and the present *By-Laws* were issued in January, 1905. The *First Quarterly Bulletin* dates with March 1st, 1892. The *Fourth Quarterly Bulletin*, for December, 1892, notes a gratifying growth of membership.

Action for amendments to the Charter was voted at the Annual Meeting of December 18, 1900.

The Society's headquarters were shifted, once again, from Philopatrian Hall, 211 South Twelfth Street, to the Athenaeum Building, 219 South Sixth Street, in 1889. The last meeting in Philopatrian Hall was held on March 27, 1889; whilst our occupancy of the Athenaeum rooms was marked by a special session on April 30, 1889, date of the Washington Inaugural Centennial in New York City. Measures for securing a new property site were forward in 1890; but the Society's present home at 715 Spruce Street was not purchased until 1895. This historic mansion is described with reference to its newer destiny, in the *Public Ledger* of Saturday, July 27, 1895. Indeed, for a transitory "camping" place, the Society's former quarters in the Athenaeum Building had their sufficiently dignified associations by having already been tenanted by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Quite appropriately, our Society has observed any signal events connected with local or national history; such as the Constitutional Centennial, in September, 1887, and Columbus Day in 1892.

Without undertaking to review all the noteworthy public functions of a social stamp in the Society's life, at least we may touch on a few of the more brilliant receptions thus far tendered alike to our home prelates and to

distinguished neighboring or peregrine guests, as well. Doubtless the mass meeting of March 31, 1891, still marks a red-letter event in the memory of survivors then present. The invitation ran:

You are cordially invited and earnestly requested to attend a mass meeting at the Academy of Music of Philadelphia, on Tuesday evening March 31st (Easter Tuesday, that year) in the interest of American Catholic History. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the American Catholic Historical Society. Addresses will be made by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, His Grace Archbishop Ryan, Gov. John Lee Carroll, of Maryland, Very Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, D.D., President of the Society, Very Rev. T. C. Middleton, O.S.A., D.D., Ex-President of the Society, Hon. Richard O'Gorman, of New York, and others.

Another landmark invitation was that of February 6, 1896, when the Society requested "the honour of (your) company at a Reception to His Eminence Cardinal Satolli the Pro-Delegate of His Holiness Leo XIII on the occasion of the formal opening of their new home, 713-715 Spruce Street, Philadelphia". Said a report of the time: "There was never such a housewarming in Philadelphia. . . . The house is a big one, but it was not half big enough to accommodate the crowd" (which humbly relayed itself on the pavement, pending room for tenable contingents between 7.30 P.M. and midnight). "The Cardinal's greeting was gracious, informal and kindly. . . . He is not a handsome man, but he has a smile which means more than good looks". Receptions of similar "first magnitude" were tendered in honor of Cardinal Martinelli on Tuesday evening, October 29, 1901; of Archbishop Ryan's Golden Jubilee on Tuesday evening, November 24, 1903; and of Cardinal Falconio (then, however, "His Excellency the Most Rev. Diomede

Falconio, D. D., Apostolic Delegate") on Thursday evening, February 23, 1905.

The "Course of Illustrated Lectures" in the Academy of Music, as provided in 1895 by the Society, merited the following warm recognition by the late Archbishop Ryan: "We beg to recommend most cordially the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia as truly American, devotedly Catholic, impartially Historical and socially Philadelphian, in the brotherly love of its members".

Neither should we forget the select no less than practically beneficial entertainments planned and achieved by the Women's Auxiliary Committee, when this generous adjunct of the Society had become organized and responsive to its purpose, from 1894 onward. To three women, Miss Elizabeth R. Blight, Miss Mary L. Hardy and Mrs. M. Harron, the Society is indebted for generous financial bequests.

To recite the list of the Society's Presidents in order of office from 1884 to this our day, is not a very requisite work of information, at all; since we know them both rightfully and freely: yet the list is befitting in the way of appreciative review. The succession then stands: the Rev. Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A., D.D. (1884-1890); the Right Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, D.D. (1891-1892); Dr. Lawrence F. Flick (1893-1896); the Rev. Hugh T. Henry, Litt.D. (1897-1898); Walter George Smith, Esq. (1899-1900); Samuel Castner, Jr. (1901); the Rev. Henry T. Drumgoole, LL.D. (1902-1903); Francis A. Cunningham (1904-1905); William V. McGrath, Jr. (1906-1907); Ignatius J. Dohan (1908-1909); the Right Rev. Mgr. Philip R. McDevitt (1910-1911-1912); Dr. Lawrence F. Flick (1913).

To pass from retrospect to prospects, in the direction of hopeful promise we would simply say that we shall

endeavor to engage adequate intellectual talent for our advancement in lines of research throughout the domain of Catholic history in our American civilization; mines already tapped we shall continue to explore and new mines, if latent, we shall seek to improve; and besides pursuing our independent labors, we shall take time to note any remarkable finds in the "diggings" of our historical friends and foes, here and abroad: this, more particularly, through the channels of book-reviewing and alert reconnoitering in historical science.

WILLIAM J. MCCALLEN, PH.D., *Editor*.

APPENDIX

THE RECORDING SECRETARY'S REPORT

The preparations for the organization of our Society—which was effected two years ago to-day—were made very quietly; but those with whom the movement originated went on so earnestly about it that a plan was soon formed and carried out; and the work thus begun has ever since grown steadily, but not too rapidly, in importance and usefulness. A few—very few—gentlemen met in the office of Mr. Griffin's *I. C. B. U. Journal*, and there, they having agreed that it was high time some organized effort was made to collect and preserve Catholic historical materials, one of them, John H. Campbell, Esq., drew up a form of appeal, in accordance with his own views and those of the other persons present, to which gentlemen of prominence and influence in the community were to be asked to sign their names. This having been done, the following circular letter was issued.¹

A TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

On an early July afternoon in 1884, John H. Campbell and M. I. J. Griffin were talking over Catholic affairs in Mr.

¹ *Records*, Vol. I, 1884-86.

Griffin's office, 711 Sansom Street. Mr. Griffin was lamenting the fact that there was no society to preserve historical material, when Mr. Campbell exclaimed, "Let us start one now." After a few moments' conversation, Mr. Campbell suggested an adjournment to my store at 740 Sansom, and he and Mr. Griffin came over to talk the matter over with me. This is the account which my brother gave me of what took place in Mr. Griffin's office.

Mr. Griffin, in a paper read before the A. C. H. S. in 1911 or '12, denied having come to my place or my having had anything to do with the formation of the society. My brother was in the habit of consulting me about every Catholic enterprise in which he was interested and in this case he made no exception. The vague idea of a society was in Mr. Griffin's mind, but it would have remained vague and stayed there if it had not been for John H. Campbell's promptness and decision in putting the idea into practice.

The three of us talked the matter over for half an hour and agreed to ask a few others to join us in a call, which my brother wrote. The recent "Historical Sketch" issued by the society is mistaken in stating that the meeting was on July 4th and in the evening. It was in the afternoon and near but not on July 4th.

The first meeting was held in the Cathedral T. A. B. Society Hall, on the invitation of John H. Campbell, who was president of that society. A temporary organization was effected and a committee appointed to draft by-laws for the society. I was a member of that committee and my recollection is that I wrote the Constitution and by-laws. My brother and I both refused to take office as our spare time was then absorbed by the Catholic Total Abstinence movement.

The credit of the foundation of the society belongs entirely to John H. Campbell. He was the man that put the idea into life.

J. Carroll McCaffrey, a young lawyer, was responsible for the charter. I was one of the signers of the charter. Mr. McCaffrey gave his services without pay.

WM. G. CAMPBELL, A.M., M.D., Ph.D.

PHILADELPHIA, *January 15, 1913.*

THE FOUNDING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

During the years 1882-3-4 I printed in my *Journal*, published at No. 711 Sansom Street, a series of articles entitled "Catholicity in Philadelphia." These attracted the attention and received the commendation of a few of those who recognized the worth of such contributions to our local history. Of these, John H. Campbell, Esq., whose office was at 738 Sansom Street, over the Book-store of his brother, William J. Campbell, was the most frequent visitor to my office on the first floor of No. 711 Sansom Street. We conversed about the articles and their value and usefulness. This led to the matter of starting a Society to in some form take up the work of Catholic American History, local and general. As Mr. Campbell was an active organizer of Total Abstinence Societies, and I, likewise, had been an organizer of several forms of Catholic organizations, literary, beneficial and insurance, it may be said that we naturally considered that an organization of some kind would be the proper method of advancing the work of Catholic History even locally.

The first form of the projected body that seemed to us best to do the work was to have a body of Catholics become members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but to be specially aggregated as a Club—as it were—to undertake the study and gathering of material relating to Catholic American History with special attention to Local History. At a later conference we abandoned this idea and agreed that a separate and distinct association might be formed to do the work. Mr. Campbell and myself and no others conferred on the subject and always in my office, 711 Sansom Street, and never elsewhere.

In a leaflet issued by the Society it was stated: "During the early Summer of 1884 the project of forming a Catholic Historical Society was formed by Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin. Following a suggestion of John H. Campbell, Esq., Mr. Griffin called a meeting at his office, 711 Sansom Street, on Friday evening, July 4th of the same year—the birth-date and place

of the American Catholic Historical Society at which were present John H. Campbell, Esq., Dr. William J. Campbell and Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin."

This is all erroneous. I, alone, did not form the project. It grew out of the conversations between Mr. Campbell and myself in my office whenever he, in passing, called in. Mr. Campbell—John H.—did not suggest a meeting in my office on July 4th, evening or at any other time. No such meeting was held. I never was in the office 711 Sansom Street in the evening in the twenty-seven years I occupied it. So no meeting was held and Mr. Campbell and his brother William and myself did not meet at that time or place nor elsewhere did we three ever meet together to confer or consider in any form the project.

It was about the 14th of July when Mr. Campbell—John H.—and myself actually determined to issue a call for a meeting to form a Society with the end we had in view. I asked Mr. Campbell to write out the call. He did so and dated it July 4th, saying that was a memorable date and of historical import worthy of being the calling date for the historical work we were to undertake. The call named July 22nd, the 70th anniversary of the death of Bishop Egan and the Cathedral Total Abstinence Hall, Sixteenth above Vine, as the time and place of meeting.—MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN, in the *American Catholic Historical Researches*, July, 1910.

LIFE OF BISHOP CONWELL OF PHILADELPHIA

BY MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

REVISED AND EDITED BY THE REV. LEMUEL B. NORTON

INTRODUCTION

“POOR BISHOP CONWELL,” said Father Jordan, “his was an eventful life.” So, indeed, it was; and so filled with one sorrowful event that the story of that event and the history of Bishop Conwell’s episcopate in Philadelphia are very nearly one and the same. Every act of his as Bishop of Philadelphia seems to have been connected with the Hogan trouble either as effect, cause or occasion for some of its incidents, or to have forced into it, in some other relation. This fact renders it necessary, in writing the history of Bishop Conwell, to dwell almost exclusively upon a theme which we would rather pass over in silence. The spectacle of a Catholic priest leading a Catholic congregation into schism, and accusing a successor of the Apostles of tyranny, pride, obstinacy and injustice, is one which no Catholic can contemplate without grave discomfort of mind.

But this distressing story still lives, and is not likely to die out in the memory of Philadelphians so long as the names of the many who lost their Catholic faith by reason of these events retain their prominent places in the history of the city. The story has been told, sometimes with the prejudice of one side, sometimes with that

of the other. Again it has been told by those whose antagonism to the Church prompted them to tell it in such manner as to show the Church herself in the worst possible light; again, too, by those who, being mostly concerned with the history of the city, omitted much: at the risk of its being incorrectly supplied by the imagination or, perhaps, by the bias of the reader. Therefore has it been determined to tell the story once again; whilst, in order that the recital may have its maximum of conclusive authority, it is told almost solely in the words of what are styled original sources. The records of St. Mary's trustees, the sacramental registers of that church, the correspondence of its clergy, the announcements of the public press, and particularly the many pamphlets issued by those who took part in the struggle on both sides (as well as by those who had no definite interest in the struggle): all these documents have been sought out and allowed to tell their tale with as much impartiality as possible, and as much clearness as the like treatment would afford. It is hoped that what the account may lack in literary merit will be offset by historical accuracy. Marks of broken continuity and incompleteness can be attributed to a desire to make no statements not made by the contemporaries; and if some of their statements be of doubtful veracity, or even palpably false, they are given nevertheless out of scrupulous adherence to the principle: *audi alteram partem*.

And if any should ask, Why revive this unpleasant ghost of the past? Why subject the memory of those long since departed, to criticism and reproach? Why, perchance, give opportunity for more scandal, or awaken old prejudices anew, whereby possibly the Church herself may suffer? Simply because we believe the truth to be the best remedy for historic errors; even as pure air is the best antiseptic for some wounds. Bishop Conwell's

first mistake (what though his motive were so genuine that it may seem harsh to censure him even thus mildly) was in retaining part of the truth. Those greater scandals which profane history has charged to the Church are nowadays losing their once obstinate grip, by mere process of better ventilation over all the premises. What reproach there still persists is becoming more justly apportioned where it fairly belongs; whereas ecclesiastical dignitaries thereby come to be lightened of ignominious burdens never strictly their own property from the very outset. We may rest assured that Calumny, once granted an inch, will not spare to take an ell; hence the sooner we apply the yardstick of truth, the sooner will Calumny be constrained to make good her injurious detractions from the fair name and honest report of her victims. Calumny, in fine, is a stale, spent shaft in the armor of the Catholic Church. From the very days of her Divine Founder until now, "This man seduces the people" has been a favorite, but ineffectual, weapon in the enemy's arsenal.

CHAPTER I

CONDITION OF THE DIOCESE DURING THE INTERVAL (1814-1820) AFTER THE DEATH OF BISHOP EGAN. ARRIVAL OF THE REV. WILLIAM HOGAN. HIS ANTECEDENTS IN LIMERICK. IN ALBANY. HIS ENTRANCE INTO PHILADELPHIA. DISCORD AMONG THE CLERGY. HOGAN SECURES A SEPARATE RESIDENCE. HIS CONDUCT. REPORTED TO FATHER DE BARTH. SEEKS TO GO TO LOUISVILLE. AWAITING THE ARRIVAL OF THE "NEW BISHOP"

Poor Bishop Conwell, his was an eventful life. (The Rev. P. A. Jordan, S. J.)

What do the Catholics of Philadelphia desire better than a Bishop whose character will outlive the test of four years' assailing such as his met with? (Bishop England).

In presenting this biography, we may say with Bishop England that there are "piles of papers which we shudder at touching", so ample are the sources of information and so painful the events of the troubled life of the second Bishop of Philadelphia. The record here given will be simply the impartial recital of events in his episcopate. We have to tell a plain, straightforward tale, without prejudice, without vain "respect of persons"; neither "detesting obstinate, proud and rebellious clerics", nor condemning unscrupulous laymen and arrogant trustees. Our single motive, in short, is to relate simply and fairly the life and episcopate of Bishop Conwell.

His predecessor, Bishop Egan, had also borne his cross of trials with trustees and priests. At times when the Fathers Harold were contumacious, he had the trustees as allies against them; and, in turn, these same priests were his supporters against actions and claims of the trustees. In the Egan-Harold-Trustee troubles of 1812-1814 lay the germ of subsequent strife and agitation during the episcopate of Bishop Conwell. Since, however, the life of Bishop Egan is assumed to be sufficiently known, we need not here proceed to review it minutely.

Bishop Egan died on July 22, 1814. The difficulty of securing his successor soon became apparent. Several very worthy priests were proposed; but they declined in dread of the harvest of conflict from seeds of the strife sown in the days of Bishop Egan. None sought so disturbed a See, so that for six years the Diocese continued with but little direction or surveillance. The Very Rev. Lewis de Barth, V. G., was appointed Administrator of the Diocese, after begging Archbishop Carroll, "on his knees," not to require him to assume that office. Obligated to accept, he steadfastly sought merely to keep the diocesan organization from going to pieces. Mean-

while he yearned for the coming of a bishop to relieve him of his heavy burden, all passive though it were. Affairs moved smoothly enough, at times; anon with friction and some degree of obstruction. Father de Barth hesitated to act in matters which a bishop would have settled decisively. Indeed, the absence of a firm hand, guiding with episcopal authority, was repeatedly and seriously palpable. To all complaints about abuses, and to suggestions of remedies, Father de Barth would answer: "a bishop will soon be here". Such seems to have been the unsalutary state of the Diocese through its long interregnum. Discipline, which in those early days was never very strict, showed still further laxity; whilst the avoidance of overt trouble and scandal was deemed cause for high congratulation.

Here enters a chief actor in the scenes which befall us to depict. In March of 1820 the Rev. William Hogan, then of Albany, New York, stopped in Philadelphia either en route to Baltimore, or when returning thence; where his cousin George, who hailed also from Limerick, Ireland, had been ordained priest by Archbishop Maréchal on March 25. George probably accompanied his cousin on the journey from Ireland, and may have met Father de Barth in Philadelphia, towards the close of 1819. Father de Barth, learning that William Hogan had been a student at Maynooth College, sent him to St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, to prepare for ordination. So he entered that Seminary on December 29, 1819; attaining the subdeaconship and the deaconship on March 20 and March 21, 1820, in St Peter's Church, Baltimore; the priesthood on March 25th, in the Seminary Chapel.¹ Since George had already been accepted as priest in the Diocese of Philadelphia, the Rev. Wil-

¹ Ganss's *History of St. Patrick's Church, Carlisle*.

William Hogan seems to have shared his cousin's wish for them to be near each other; accordingly, he took steps for admission to the same Diocese.

William Hogan was a nephew of the Rev. Patrick Hogan, parish priest of St. Michael's, Limerick, who died on March 29, 1839, at Kingstown, County Dublin.² William sailed from Limerick by way of Cork, in the *Maria*, Captain Duplex, to New York. Afterwards, his conduct and status in his home Diocese of Limerick were made a theme of debate. His cousin, the Rev. George Hogan of Carlisle (Pennsylvania), declared that William had been under censure in Limerick, and had come to this country without the Bishop's *exeat*. In the heat of the subsequent controversy, Bishop England of Charleston, South Carolina, plainly intimated that Hogan's emigration from Ireland was "an act of necessity" and a step "which indiscretion compelled".³ The Bishop declared that he had learned from Ireland "facts which he did not know when endeavoring to bring about peace between Bishop Conwell and his unruly priest".⁴ In answer to his cousin George's allegation, Hogan produced a letter of recommendation from Bishop Tuohy, dated Limerick, August 25, 1819, which he had presented to Bishop Connolly of New York. It certified that the Rev. William Hogan "has been curate in my mensal parish for some time and conducted himself in an exemplary manner; he is under no censures of any kind; on the contrary he has labored on the mission in Limerick so as to meet my approbation". In giving this commendatory letter, Bishop Tuohy may have acted as Bishop Conwell was willing to do at a later period; that is, so as to give the disobedient and refractory priest

² *Catholic Herald*, May 9, 1839.

³ *Works*, p. 145.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 152.

an *exeat* in order to secure his departure from the Diocese.

However, Bishop Tuohy's letter proved satisfactory to Bishop Connolly, and secured for the newly-arrived priest his appointment as pastor of Albany, Lansingburgh and vicinity. He was at Lansingburgh, New York, early in 1820, and officiated at the marriage of John Tracy to Sara Rawson, only daughter and eldest child of the convert Keating Rawson.⁵ He remained there until his removal to Philadelphia. His conduct in that place (rather his teaching while there) has been criticized severely. While pastor at Albany he delivered a sermon on the "Intercession of Saints," which was printed at Lansingburgh, although prolonged search has failed to discover an original copy. In that sermon Hogan advised his audience "to adhere to the religion of their forefathers. Be not the dupes of an enthusiast who calls himself a minister of the Gospel." But the sermon was roughly censured by a pamphleteer:⁶ "The very exordium of your sermon is rather preparatory to a discourse on the immortality of the soul than the doctrine you undertook to prove. You waive the subject, and when you come to the point, the Catholic reader, perceiving the faulty and flimsy arguments with which you defend, or rather betray, these venerable truths, trembles for the orthodoxy of his belief on these points; yes, we boldly declare, that if there were no other reasons to establish these articles of our holy faith than what you have developed, we would not believe. But why do we accuse you of betraying the Catholic counsel? Have you not most explicitly inculcated to the good people of Albany a notorious Protestant maxim: 'Make the Scriptures your sole rule of faith?'"

⁵ Letter of the Rev. Dr. Middleton, O. S. A., September 14, 1894.

⁶ *Hoganism Examined*.

"This miserable sermon, miserable on account of the disgusting epithets which overloaded it, miserable on account of the poverty or rather total penury of argument, and even this misery is stolen".⁷ . . . The Rev. George Hogan declared that this sermon was given to his cousin, the Rev. William Hogan, by the Rev. Justin McNamara of Cork. Yet if Father McNamara was its author, his orthodoxy was not thereby impugned.

On the other hand, in 1846, more than twenty years after leaving Philadelphia, Hogan wrote in defense of his conduct at Albany: "I was regularly inducted into the charge of the Catholic Church in Albany, and there exercised all the faculties of my office without interruption, with acceptance to the Roman Catholics and citizens of that place, until in utter disgust with the immoralities of some priest who had preceded me there, I felt it my duty to resign that situation, when a vote of thanks was rendered me by the citizens without distinction of creed or party for the services I had rendered in advancing the cause of Christianity. Among the many distinguished citizens who signed their names to the testimonial of their respect for me was DeWitt Clinton, in whose society I spent much of my time during my stay there". Moreover, Hogan declared: "No clergyman stood higher in his clerical capacity in the United States than myself". That "vote of thanks" and the "pride of place" which it begot may have been contributory to his ruin: a thorough search in the State Library at Albany revealed no publication of any such testimonial in either January or February or March of 1820.

As already noted, Hogan came to Philadelphia in March of that year, coincidently with a journey to Baltimore, where, as we also noted, his cousin George was

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

ordained on March 25. To the Administrator, Father de Barth, he presented a "letter of introduction" from Bishop Connolly of New York. In asking this letter of the Bishop, Hogan had represented that he wished it in aid of collecting to build a steeple and other improvements for the church at Albany. Whether Hogan had real intention or not of making this collection we do not ascertain. Bishop Connolly mentions no such purpose in the letter; nor is there evidence that Hogan sought to advance the project while he was in Philadelphia. At all events, his visit so far prospered that Father de Barth accepted and received him into the Diocese of Philadelphia. According to the testimony of the Rev. P. Kenny, in a letter to be cited later, Hogan returned to New York and informed Bishop Connolly that he would not go back to Albany, having been received by Father de Barth into the Diocese of Philadelphia. There appears to have been no formality about his reception, apart from the said "letter of recommendation." At any rate, Father Hogan was received and assigned to duty by Father de Barth, who introduced him to the leading members of the Catholic community. We find that Father Hogan was escorted to the "dwelling house" of Matthew Carey, and also particularly introduced to Father de Barth's "good and worthy friend," Mr. John Ashley, one of the trustees of St. Mary's Church, "the largest and richest congregation in the United States". The same introduction paved the way to Father Hogan's engagement, in April, 1820, as successor to the Rev. Dr. Gallagher, late of Charleston, South Carolina. His first baptism is recorded April 22: "Mary, daughter of Timothy and Letitia Carroll." Other entries are dated May 15: Joseph Wigmore (perhaps the sexton's son); May 22: William Lynch, born in Lancaster; June 19: Maria Angela Wirth; June 25: John D. Murphy, and others. His last baptism occurred on December 4: John Kenon.

The lack of due canonical form in Hogan's reception into the Diocese gave rise to sharp debate in the course of the ensuing troubles. It was charged against him that he had been received into the Diocese contingently to his obtaining an *exeat* from Bishop Connolly of New York. Item, it was said that he went to New York for the *exeat*, but returned without it. Furthermore he then entered upon his duties at St. Mary's while Father de Barth was in Conewago. On the latter's return two months later, it seemed to him impossible to remedy the evil "of having a priest ministering to the people, when he had no *exeat* from his Bishop." Consequently it was asserted that Hogan "came into the Diocese surreptitiously", which action "rendered him inadmissible according to the Council of Trent".

The following arguments and evidence were presented on both sides. Bishop England set forth Hogan's position thus favorably: "Dr. de Barth was not an ordinary; he was a deputy. He could give temporary jurisdiction, but he could not bestow a parish. And even if he could bestow other parishes, he could not bestow the mensal, which St. Mary's was".⁸ Bishop England's views of the laws and the decrees of the Council may be correct, but apparently they were not held by the Administrator himself. Neither could the latter have construed Hogan's want of an *exeat* to be an evil, seeing that he himself stood no better in that respect than Hogan. Father de Barth had likewise come to the Diocese of Philadelphia without an *exeat* from his Bishop. When Archbishop Carroll "threatened" to insist "in virtue of promise at ordination", Father de Barth replied: "This would oblige me to resort to the Bishop who ordained me and who never gave me an *exeat* or transferred me to any

⁸Cf. *Works*, p. 188.

particular Bishop, but gave me a mere permission to go to the West Indies".⁹ Thus Hogan entered the Diocese on as good a basis as that of the Administrator who admitted him. No one knew of the want of an *exeat* in Father de Barth's case at the time when Hogan was being denounced for just such lack. Had no other complications arisen, Hogan's manner of entrance would have stayed as unquestioned as Father de Barth's. Once received by the Administrator, Father Hogan was engaged without question by the trustees of St. Mary's Church.

In judging of the events narrated in this episode, we must bear in mind that the form of canonical induction now in vogue was not in use at that time. In those days a priest was employed just as a sexton might have been: with the single difference that a priest, indeed, had to have the approbation of the Archbishop, or of the Bishop or Administrator of Philadelphia. If a priest was needed, the trustees simply employed one recommended by the Bishop. Let us remember, too, that the trustees here involved (the ones who engaged Hogan) were those whom the Rev. William V. Harold, V. G., styled the "Catholic Trustees"; not the same as those who later upheld Hogan in his opposition to Bishop Conwell.

Bishop Connolly's account of the transference of Father Hogan appears by the following letter:

NEW YORK, *December 29, 1820.*

Right Rev. Dear Sir:

I have not given the Rev. William Hogan *exeat* from this diocese. He quitted it of his own account and thereby abdicated the spiritual powers I had given him (revocable at will) for the district of Albany. On his going to Philadelphia from New York this year, he prayed me to give him a

⁹ MS, July 30, 1814, in Archives at Baltimore.

letter of introduction to Rev. Mr. Barth, and to request Mr. Barth to second him in his wish of collecting money at Philadelphia for our church at Albany. I granted him the first part of his demand, but refused him the second.

Wishing you all manner of happiness

I am, Rt. Rev. dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN CONNOLLY B'p.

To the Rt. Rev. Henry Conwell, Philadelphia.

Here, too, we may insert the aforesaid letter from Father Kenny, which is dated from New York, August 9, 1820, and addressed to the Very Rev. Dr. de Barth.

I am quite afflicted at the unseemly behaviour of Mr. Hogan. Dr. Connolly is offended at the manner in which he left New York, and displeased with you for having engaged him. He states that when Mr. Hogan came to New York he wanted to be stationed in this city. To this the Bishop would not consent. With reluctance he accepted of the mission to Albany. The congregation, said to be poor, gave him four hundred dollars, and then added the pew rent to the salary; for the time that he was there he had twelve hundred and fifty dollars or at that rate for the year. He came to New York to get the Bishop's leave to make a collection to build a steeple and to make repairs. This the Bishop did not want him to do in so public a way but allowed him to go in private to his friends. He then asked to go to Philadelphia to make this collection and to give him a line to you. The Bishop gave him a line to you but did not mention anything of the collection in it. If I conjecture right this letter you have not seen. When he returned to New York he astonished the good Bishop by telling him that he would not go any more to Albany, so soon had the zeal for the steeple evaporated. He gave the Bishop your letter, but added that the matter was all settled and that he had agreed with you. This declaration made the Bishop resolve not to write, as he could not approve of what had been done, and thought it

useless to disapprove it. Such is the account he gave me and wishes you to know. You may make what use you please of this communication. I have lost even the hope of Mr. Hogan's being instrumental in promoting the good of religion in Philadelphia. But I cannot hope anything from a man who dissembles, nay, intrigues with his superiors. I thought to write to him but I fear it would be useless. It is not now in my power. I write at half past eleven o'clock at night and sail to-morrow at ten. May God help and comfort you. I should like to know the result of Mr. Hogan's affair. Unless I know that he regrets his conduct, I can never be ranked among his friends. May God purify his motives and sanctify them.

Ever Yours

P. KENNY.

P. S. Excuse this scrawl in haste and sorrow.

We should observe that the said "unseemly behaviour" antedated the coming of Bishop Conwell; which circumstance largely accounts for his quick action when once in charge of his Philadelphian See.

In reference to Father Kenny's letter, Hogan thus comments in his "Brief Reply to a Ludicrous Pamphlet":¹⁰

Father Kenny's letter proves to a demonstration that so far back as the ninth of August a conspiracy had been issued against me; it proves that Rev. Mr. de Barth, then Vicar General of this diocese, wrote to Mr. Kenny in New York, commissioning him to find if possible, some charge against me, which no doubt he intended making the matter for suspending me, and from the tenor of his letter it is evident that after the most scrupulous and jesuitical inquiry he could find none.

As to his having no *exeat* from Bishop Connolly of New York, Hogan said that he was not "a subject of

¹⁰ *Sundry Documents.*

that diocese;" and that not wishing to resign his claims to the Diocese of Limerick, he had brought only "a commendatory letter." Again, "Dr. Connolly had no claim on me as a subject of his diocese; the only testimonial he could give me was that my conduct was correct while in his diocese, this he has given me and it is now in the possession of Rev. Mr. de Barth." In that same "Reply", Hogan also says, in regard to Father Kenny's letter, that "passages have been omitted in the publication which Conwell did not think prudent to publish." The omission reads: "Perhaps patience, kindness, with strong expostulation may gain him to God and preserve him for the good of religion." Whereupon Hogan continues: "Why mangle this pious priest's letter: why not have taken the advice contained in it: why had not Henry, Bishop, patience? Why not kindness? Why did he not expostulate with me before he proceeded to attempt suspending me?" (p. 29). "Has he given me any previous admonition? No. Has he heard my defence? No" (p. 48).

Concerning the trouble with Father de Barth, Hogan stated in an "Address to the Congregation of St. Mary's Church" (February 2, 1821, during his difficulties with Bishop Conwell), that on his arrival in Philadelphia, Father de Barth not only received him and introduced him to the leading members of St. Mary's, but thought it necessary to designate what society he should not have, inasmuch as Father de Barth represented the clergymen of the Church in Philadelphia to be men with whom Hogan should not associate. Hogan then repeats what was told him about their failings. However, no sooner had Father de Barth himself gone to Conewago than the two particular priests in question "told Hogan what kind of a man de Barth was". Hogan accordingly preferred to think and act independently; but anyhow he

"declined associating with these gentlemen". He proceeds to tell how Fathers McGirr and de Barth became reconciled when the latter learned that Father McGirr knew of the delinquencies of Father de Barth; but they two having signed a truce, as it were, their next step was to get rid of Father Hogan. So de Barth went to some of the most respectable families and told them not to admit Father Hogan into their homes; that he was "a bad and dangerous man. . . . Yet why did he not scruple to see me approach the altar of the living God? Why leave me in the discharge of my duty as a clergyman?"

Hogan's alleged entry upon his duties at St. Mary's during Father de Barth's absence at Conewago would seem to conflict with the fact that Hogan's name appears on the baptismal register under date of April 22, preceding Father de Barth's name on April 23, and Father Kenny's on the 24. Again, Father de Barth wrote to Hogan from Conewago in connection with complaints by Hogan about his rooms; Father de Barth regretting that he had not been thus notified more seasonably. This Conewago letter is dated June 9, 1820.

During Dr. de Barth's absence, which lasted from April to July (1820), dissension arose between Father Hogan and the other priests of St. Mary's—the Rev. Terence McGirr and the Rev. James Cummiskey. There seems to have been some disagreement over the duty of preaching. Hogan wrote to Dr. de Barth as Vicar General, forasmuch as the trustees had wished Father Hogan to preach on Sunday afternoons and keep the collections for himself. But the Vicar General did not favor this mode of compensation, and answered that "an increase of salary would have been far more proper". On the subject of preaching, Dr. de Barth wrote in his letter of June 9: "During the whole time Dr. Gallagher

remained at St. Mary's I left him in charge of the preaching. On your succeeding him I had no idea but the same department would devolve on your reverence, if you would take it upon you, and I expected no more opposition from the other Rev. gentlemen to you than to Dr. Gallagher. However let things remain as they are, until my return to Philadelphia which will be towards the beginning of next month, God willing."¹¹

Another cause of dispute was Hogan's discontent with his accommodations in the old clergy house. This was the house used by the clergy of St. Joseph's as well. It belonged to the Rev. Francis Neale of Maryland, heir of the Rev. Father Molineux, heir of Father Harding, who had received it by will from Father Greateon, founder of the faith in Philadelphia. Bishop Egan hired the house from Father Neale. The agreement appears to have been that Father Neale should provide for some repairs to the house and furniture; but he directed his agent, Joseph Snyder, to expend no money for this purpose unless the rent should exceed the fixed charges. Thus it happened that the house badly needed repairs at the time of Bishop Egan's death; whilst Father Neale's already scant furniture had been distributed through the rooms of an augmented number of priests. Father Hogan complained of his share of these discomforts to the Rev. Patrick Kenny, of Coffee Run, Delaware, who was a frequent visitor to Philadelphia and may have been present when Hogan was admitted to St. Mary's; for Father Kenny's name appears in the baptismal register within a few days of Hogan's first baptism. Father Kenny transmitted the complaint to Dr. de Barth, whose letter of June 9 we have cited above. We may still add this remonstrance of Dr. de Barth's:

¹¹ In the time of Bishop Egan, sermons at St. Mary's were omitted during very hot weather.

As soon as Rev. Mr. Kenny informed me of what took place I caused him to make the present dispositions which are to remain until the arrival of the so long expected Bishop. The inconveniences you complain of have been willingly submitted to by Rev. Messrs. Ennis and Carr and of late by Dr. Gallagher: when the occupants of the lower room wished to be more private they retired to their bedroom for study until a senior brother left a room vacant. Such has been the custom at St. Joseph's among all the clergymen with but few exceptions.

But Father Hogan, as one of his partisans afterwards put it, "could not live in the midst of filth, comfortless and unlike a gentleman. He therefore determined to live separately".¹² That such complaints were not altogether unfounded would appear from a certain meeting of pew-holders of St. Mary's Church, on August 20, 1820, held in St. Joseph's school-room, then rearward of Walnut Street. The object of this meeting purported to devise "arrangements for the better accommodation of the clergymen of St. Mary's Church". It was *Resolved* "that the Trustees be requested to make whatever temporary arrangements might be deemed necessary until the arrival of a Bishop, when satisfactory permanent arrangements could be made".¹³ Now the trustees had not met since May 3 (1820), nor did they meet again until February 13, 1821. Nevertheless Hogan went "to live separately"; whereas we may infer that Hogan's action had their approval, from the fact that when they met on the last night of their term of office, April 23, 1821, they paid bills of \$322.65, "for furnishing the house occupied by Rev. Mr. Hogan", as well as \$35.70 for carpet for the Rev. Mr. McGirr, and a carpeting item of

¹² "An Inquiry into the Causes which led to the Dissension, by a Layman of the Congregation".

¹³ *Document* in A. C. H. S.

\$34.04 for Dr. de Barth. This "Catholic Board", as Father Harold subsequently styled it, was composed of Messrs. Dennis McCreedy, Patrick Connell, John Dempsey, Christopher O'Connor, Hugh Cavanaugh, Philip Smith, Edward McDermott, John Doyle; and Fathers de Barth and Terence McGirr. John Doyle was Secretary; Dennis McCreedy, Treasurer. They were elected on April 4, 1820. They never became factious defenders of Hogan, nor did they support him after his suspension. So Hogan changed his residence in order both to have ampler quarters and to avoid association with Fathers McGirr and Cumiskey.

At that time St. Joseph's Church was described as "a chapel back of Walnut Street", though nowadays located in Willing's Alley. Then the chief entrance was not, as now, from Willing's Alley, but from Walnut Street. The passage way, to be sure, was wider than at present. After skirting the western side of the chapel, it passed the chapel and clergy house, and then Father Hogan's house, whence it led to Willing's Alley through a gateway. Hogan's house fronted on the Alley, and was separated at the rear by a four-foot yard from the clergy house. Father Hogan's house is thus described by Father Jordan:

It was a two-storied house with attics. From a step on a level with the sidewalk, you entered a box-entry about four feet by three, which led into the "best room." A window on the north side opposite the door of entrance gave you a view of a narrow four foot yard and of St. Joseph's residence. To the right of this window was a door leading to the kitchen, or, as it was generally called, "the living room." As soon as you passed this door, stepping to the right you might ascend the stairs to the second floor landing upon a small square entry, between the two rooms, and having another flight leading to the attic, as it is now called; then to the garret. In

this entry there was a window from which an easy view might be obtained of all who entered the Bishop's house. It was a favorite occupation of the "Gentleman from Limerick" to sit in this entry pretending to read, but in reality watching the incomings and outgoings of his adversary.¹⁴

Seeing that the attitude of the trustees became an important element in the troubles which afterwards fermented, it were well to show the relations between trustees and clergy up to this time. The trustees were managers in full control of the temporal affairs of the parish. They claimed, and at least in some cases they exercised, the right of employing pastors subject to the approval of the bishop. Later they claimed the right to determine the bishop's right to act as pastor; also they claimed the right to appoint other priests in defiance of his disapproval.

So far back as 1805 there had been discontent with the charter which determined their powers; and there were proposals for its amendment: though the first significant step in this direction dates from February 20, 1820, when Mr. Augustine Fagan, at a meeting of the trustees, moved a resolution, seconded by Mr. Doyle, to the intent that a committee be appointed to revise and amend the present constitution. The amended document, on approval by the board of trustees, was to be presented to the proper legal authorities for confirmation. On the call for yeas and nays, Messrs. Dempsey, Connell, Doyle, Fagan, McCreedy and Doran voted in the affirmative; Fathers de Barth and McGirr in the negative. At the meeting of March 1, the committee reported a bill for the amendment of the charter; which, as the minutes show, was "adopted by a considerable majority". Mr. McCreedy was added to the committee to obtain legal

¹⁴ *Woodstock Letters.*

sanction for the alterations proposed in the act of incorporation. Father McGirr, who presided in the absence of Father de Barth, declined acting as chairman during these proceedings; whereupon Dr. John Dempsey was called to the chair, and he verified the proceedings of the meeting.¹⁵ Dennis McCreedy, Treasurer, was directed to pay all expenses for having the charter amended. No record of the nature of these amendments appears on the minutes of the board; but it would seem from the set opposition of the clergy, and the subsequent tactics of the Hoganite trustees, that the amendments tended to increase the power of the lay trustees, and more or less to exclude the clergy from the government of the parish. No further action was taken by this board nor by the succeeding board of "Catholic Trustees", elected on April 4, 1820. These, early in 1821, stood with the clergy against the wish of the Hogan faction to amend the charter; so that only when the Hogan party gained full control of the board was the design further pursued. Thus, even before Hogan's arrival the clergy and the trustees were somewhat at odds; and their differences played an appreciable part in the later course of events.

But the real "beginning of evils" during the summer of 1820 seems to have turned on Hogan's character and conduct. Precisely what these were, is perplexing to determine amidst the conflicting voices of his adversaries and his advocates. Both sides, as is usual, seem to have been at times in the wrong; both allowed the heat of controversy to betray them into exaggeration, if not calumny. We present the evidence and leave the reader to judge for himself.

Bishop Conwell's severity towards Hogan so soon after arrival indicates that he credited the serious charges at

¹⁵ *Minutes.*

issue. It is true, he named Hogan's disrespect for himself and Father de Barth as the ground of Hogan's suspension; but, as we shall duly perceive, he withheld the true causes for his action in order to avoid scandal. According to Hogan, Fathers McGirr and Cummiskey had been "whispering" accusations against him throughout the summer; and de Barth, on his return, cautioned several of the parishioners against "receiving him into their houses". Father Kenny, too, believed him guilty. Father Hurley at St. Augustine's was denouncing him roundly; indeed, Father Hogan's own cousin, the Rev. George Hogan of Carlisle, sided with the accusers. It thus appears that the diocesan clergy were practically unanimous in the conviction that he was unfitted to exercise the office of the priesthood. What were the specific charges against him? We have no formal record of them; whereas what contemporary records we have at all rather imply than openly state the more grievous articles of accusation. Says the venerable Father Jordan:

Being of pleasing address he gained much favor with the so-called "first families." A few Sundays after his arrival he occupied the pulpit of St. Mary's; for although a very illiterate man he was an effective speaker, Slight and dapper in appearance, he paid due respect to all the requirements of dress. An old Quaker relative of mine used to remark: "The price of pomatum must have risen since William's arrival."

He soon became a favorite, unhappily too conspicuous a favorite, with the ladies. His actions with them soon exceeded the bounds of propriety. Sad to say, a spirit of insubordination had been rife among the wealthy caste of Catholics in Philadelphia for several years past; and they were not slow to discover that they had a ready partner in the shallow and superficial William Hogan.

Like mother, like daughter: for we hear of more or less equivocal midnight entertainments wherein "Father" Hogan would seem to have cut a most admired, but scarcely edifying, figure before guests who later in the day sat as members of his congregation at Holy Mass. In this connection we forbear to recite and would gladly not even refer to a foiled attack made by Hogan on his housekeeper, did it not rest on the testimony of Father Jordan. Plain, good Catholics were devoutly awaiting the arrival of the Very Reverend Administrator; whilst Fathers Kenny and McGirr were not silent in private conversation, and Father Hurley was making the walls of St. Augustine's ring with his upbraidings of the "fop" turned priest.

We meet with better warrant for the report that Father Hogan was "very illiterate". To this Bishop England attests:

Certainly no superior would be justified in recommending and no bishop in ordaining a youth so completely deficient as this young man evidently was in the most common branches of an English education. It sometimes however, though rarely, occurs that by a reprehensible lenity and indulgence a person is admitted to holy orders without the requisite education and without a divine vocation. And experience has shown that the usual result is, as in this case, the ruin of the unhappy youth and the scandal of religion.¹⁶

The author of "*Hoganism Examined*" arraigns Hogan:

Such an icy coldness accompanied everything you said that some persons were heard to say "He does not believe what he says." So frigidly did these sublime truths of Christianity fall from your cold heart.¹⁷

¹⁶ *Works*, p. 142, note.

¹⁷ *Hoganism Examined*, p. 9.

On the other hand, we face the fact of his popularity. This is not so easy to understand if his reported immorality was really known, or credited, at least, in general society. Catholic people quickly grow alienated by faulty reputation in a priest; yet Father Hogan shone in both Catholic and Protestant circles. If he was entertained by families like the Ingersolls, Sergeants, Prices, Bories, Binneys, Cadwalladers, Chews, he must have been socially presentable, and qualified to please refined company. Said Matthew Cary: "He was the most popular clergyman who had been in St. Mary's for many years." Cary further informs us:

He distinguished himself by an extraordinary degree of zeal in catechizing the children of the congregation, in which he was very successful. A Sunday-school had been established some years before, but had never prospered, and was then in a sickly and expiring state. This school he reorganized and attracted to it great numbers of scholars of both sexes, many of whom, previously destitute of suitable clothing, were clothed with the proceeds of charity sermons occasionally preached by Mr. Hogan on Sunday evenings, a practice which had never before prevailed in that congregation.

After the withdrawal of his faculties, a committee of the Congregation drew up an address to Bishop Conwell, signed by 250 names, wherein it was declared: "The benefits derived from his exertions were so sudden and so extensive that we dwell on his merits with satisfaction". Moreover, the "Catholic Trustees" wrote to Archbishop Maréchal, on March 23, 1821, to the effect that Father Hogan possessed "talents seldom to be met with in our church". These qualities, apparently, outweighed in the estimation of St. Mary's flock those foibles of "foppishness" and "dandyism" charged by his denouncers; together with other unpriestly qualities

urged against him by his fellow clerics. And if more serious charges escaped public discussion at the start, possibly his admirers would not have believed them worth crediting when once the ardor of partisan strife had mounted to fever heat, supplanting dispassionate judgment.

Besides, the admiration for Hogan seems to have been intensified by a discontent (reasonable or unreasonable) with the priests who had preceded him. A pamphlet in Ridgway Library (No. 2235-0) offers a "cursory view of the state of religion in St. Mary's Congregation for a few years previous to the coming of the Rev. Mr. Hogan." We quote from the same:

This congregation has always been looked upon as highly respectable, but we owe this respectability to ourselves, not to the priests who have occasionally been sent out to us, except in one or two instances. I do not wish to detract from the merits of Rev. Mr. De Barth, but he certainly did not increase the respectability of our church by keeping in his employ such persons as those who have been in the habit of ascending our pulpit, delivering sermons unintelligible to the majority of the congregation, preaching doctrines in direct contradiction to our feelings and associating with the very lowest dregs of society. I turn away from this picture horrid as it is true. Our church during the afternoon service of Vespers was abandoned, the poor and indigent children of the congregation were neglected, and in one word our ministers did not comply with their sacred obligations. Such was the real state of our congregation when the Rev. Wm. Hogan appeared among us; we hailed his arrival as a resuscitation of our abandoned religion.

Father de Barth returned to Philadelphia in the early part of July, 1820.¹⁸ He gave no public sign of disap-

¹⁸ St. Joseph's Register, p. 323.

proval of Hogan's conduct; but may be it was now that he went to some of the "respectable families", advising them not to receive Hogan into their homes. Father Jordan relates: "When Father de Barth arrived in July the very general expectation was that Mr. Hogan would be dismissed, but in this they were sadly mistaken". On the very day of Father de Barth's arrival, Father Jordan's mother imparted to him the current rumors, concerning the truth of some of which she could vouch with eyewitness finality. (This on occasion of Father de Barth's visit to St. Joseph's school-house.) "Susan," said the Very Reverend Administrator, "he's Irish and the new Bishop is Irish; let the Irish settle it among themselves". Father de Barth was at St. Joseph's again in the latter part of August, and also towards the close of September; but though the conduct of Hogan was reported to him repeatedly, his invariable answer stood: "The new Bishop will soon be here". Fathers Kenny and McGirr talked little; it was Father Hurley who made the "Limerick Boy" the subject of each Sunday's discourse; who remarked on the stock answer of Dr. de Barth: "St. Michael may be here to-morrow, and St. Michael may be here the next day, but Lucifer is here to-day".¹⁹

In fact, Hogan himself was ill at ease and eager to leave the Diocese. He wrote accordingly to Archbishop Maréchal, and was answered under date of August 15: "I have too great an esteem for you to wish you to quit your post under the present circumstances, for what truly would become of the congregation of St. Mary's were you to withdraw from it?" This good opinion was changed about a month later, when the Archbishop visited Philadelphia and presumably heard the floating talk

¹⁹Father Jordan.

over Hogan's misconduct. "Unfortunate impressions" were made on him then, as the committee of the congregation phrased it (March 23, 1821), during Hogan's trouble with the Bishop. Hogan had likewise written to Bishop Flaget of Bardstown for affiliation with that Diocese, and to the people of Louisville for employment. Both seem to have accepted him, and those of Louisville sent him money for traveling expenses. On the very evening before Bishop Conwell withdrew his faculties, Hogan wrote to Bishop Flaget:

December 11, 1820, PHILADELPHIA.

Most Rev. Sir :

I have received your paternal letter in due time, and should have answered it immediately, did I not think it more prudent to wait for an answer to my letter to the people of Louisville, which after your Lordship's letter was to decide me. I shall, God willing, proceed to Louisville as soon as possible. With regard to your requiring of me to leave Louisville when you think proper, you need put no such question to me.

Whenever your Lordship sees that I will not edify by my conduct and instruct by my discourses, you can of course remove me, but until then I hope you will not. The people of Louisville will procure lodging for me. I have the honour to be your Lordship's humble servant.

WILLIAM HOGAN.

This application to Louisville was afterwards construed by Bishop Conwell as evidence that Hogan knew that he had no claim on the Diocese of Philadelphia, because of the irregularity of his reception by Father de Barth. The Bishop declared²⁰ that

Hogan entered the diocese surreptitiously and had himself demonstrated the nullity of his title elsewhere; for if he claimed a benefice here why apply to the Bishop of Louisville

²⁰ *Sundry Documents.*

for a situation and to the congregation of Louisville for money to bring him thither, which they sent him accordingly.

Well had it been for the cause of religion in Philadelphia if Hogan had gone thence "as soon as possible". Why he did not is not apparent. Perhaps for the reason that after suspension by Bishop Conwell he could not hope for a letter of recommendation, which was doubtless a condition of his acceptance by Bishop Flaget. Perhaps, too, the discovery that he might have supporters among the members of St. Mary's encouraged him to join issue with the Bishop.

Such, then, was the state of the Diocese, such the tangle which the new Bishop was called upon to unravel. Possibly, greater prudence in the pilot might have brought his vessel to port with less damage. Yet the storm had been long brewing, and only when he was supported by the "purse-proud" vanity of some of the "first families", and by the trustees' ambition for power, did Hogan's obstinacy and rebelliousness prove seriously detrimental to religion in the Church in Philadelphia.

[*To be continued.*]

FOLLOWING THE CONQUISTADORES

BY THE REV. FRANCIS P. SIEGFRIED

UP THE ORINOCO AND DOWN THE MAGDALENA (pp. 439); ALONG THE ANDES AND DOWN THE AMAZON (pp. 533). By H. J. MOZANS, A. M., Ph. D. With an Introduction by Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

THOUGH this work has been for some time before the world—the former volume having appeared last year, and the latter two years previously—it has by no means attained the recognition it deserves. There is no risk in making this statement, for even should the work have reached the highest figure attained by “the best sellers”, it would still remain far below the place it deserves in public esteem. Indeed, without letting one’s fancy run loose, one can hardly overstate the solid merits and unique charm of these volumes. Seldom, if ever, does one meet with a book of travel in which are combined so many excellences and attractions. The work is at once a splendid story of the Spanish conquest, an absorbingly interesting narrative of travel and adventure, and a casket of literary gems—a collection of idylls both in prose and verse; and estimated from any one of these aspects, the work challenges the reader’s highest effort of admiration. All this may seem to those unacquainted with the work exaggerated laudation. To such we can but say “Come and see”! In the first place it is a story of the Conquest, or rather it is the history thereof told with the genuine charm of story—*history*, because it is

wrought out of the original sources, chronicles, correspondence, and personal narratives of those who made the events whereof they tell. Bibliographies are not always reliable indications of an author's research or erudition; but in the present case the dozen pages containing "the partial list of the works cited" by the author are quite too inadequate a sign of the wealth of literary materials that have contributed to the production of this splendid monument of history.

The work is a history of the past,—of the Conquest. It is no less a narrative of the actual present. It reflects the present status of the people of upper South America (Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and parts of Bolivia and Brazil), their industrial, economic, intellectual, and, not least, their religious conditions. Though valuable for its luminous pictures of the early discovery and opening-out of these countries, it is more so, perhaps much more so, for the information it affords regarding their actual status. Dr. Mozans had exceptional opportunities of coming into intimate relations with all classes of the people,—with the poor and the rich, the masses and the classes, the educated and the rude, the rulers and the ruled; and in no other single work of its kind will there be found, we venture to assert, so much light shed upon such manifold aspects of these countries. It is not a summary of facts and figures. For such details one goes to governmental reports, statesmen's year-books, and commercial reviews.

The author is a man of broad and deep culture and of wide experience. He has brought to his task—a labor of love—the fruits of extensive travel, intimate knowledge of many peoples, familiarity with many departments of human knowledge. Above all, he is endowed with that subtle sympathy, that touch of humanity, which makes all the world akin and enables its possessor to appre-

hend, as it were intuitively, the real character of a people. Especially in regard to the religious conditions of our Latin neighbors are this insight and sympathy manifest. Though he enters into few details on this subject, the occasional sidelights he casts are sufficient to show that the conditions are far from being as black as they are painted by the biased sectarians; and he loses no opportunity of showing that if the religious status is not brighter than it is, the cause lies in the iniquitous policy of the Republics which suppressed the religious orders and deprived the natives of their missionaries—a policy which has been no less disastrous to the industrial, commercial and social development of the country.

The task of converting and civilizing the South American aborigines, especially on the Huallaga and the Amazon, was beset with almost insuperable difficulties. In the first place the missionaries were a long distance from their base of supplies. At first this was Quito. To reach Laguna, the chief missionary centre on the Huallaga, required a journey of two months, afoot and by canoe, through trackless forests and often across the territory of hostile tribes. Then came the tremendous difficulty of learning the native languages. According to Ameghino the number of languages and dialects in South America exceeds eight hundred. Each tribe on the Upper Amazon has its own language, which differs from that of the adjoining tribes as German from Hebrew. But more baffling far than their number was the difficulty of these tongues. "The sounds produced by the Indians of the Chaco," says Padre Dobinshoffer in his *History of the Abipones*, "resembles nothing human, so do they sneeze and stutter and cough." To construct a grammar of such grunts and grimaces, and still more to find expressions to convey religious truths, must have been for the first missionaries a tremendous task—a task that was

the more arduous owing to the peculiarly nomadic habits of the natives. Nevertheless, not only were these initial obstacles overcome by the intrepid "conquistadores of the Cross", but together with the Gospel of Peace the arts of civilized life were successfully introduced.

The Spanish missionaries, says our author,

converted these wild hunters and fishermen into skilful artisans, herdsmen and tillers of the soil. They collected the roving and scattered tribes from the hidden recesses of the forest, and formed them into peaceful communities along the great waterways where fish and game were abundant, and where they could be always under the watchful eye of their spiritual guides and protectors. And, almost before the civil authorities of Quito and Lima were aware of the work that was being accomplished, the banks of the Huallaga and the Amazon were dotted with flourishing towns and villages, the homes of peaceful and happy Indians of many tribes and languages, who were more highly civilized than had been the Incas even in their palmy days, and whose children knew more of their Creator and of His relation to His creatures than did the wisest men of Cuzco. The "conquistadores of the Cross," with only the crucifix in their hands, had in a few short years accomplished what neither Inca nor Spanish arms had been competent to achieve, the subjugation of the countless warlike and antagonistic hordes of the montaña.

And, what is more, in teaching the Indian craftsmanship and husbandry and stockraising, they prepared him not only to live as a civilized being, but also to earn his own living without any further assistance from the white man. The result was that the Spanish America was but little vexed with that terrible Indian problem which, in our northern continent, led not to one but to three centuries of dishonor. In a few decades the followers of the Poverello of Assisi, of Dominic and Ignatius Loyola, were able to effect what our great statesman, Henry Clay, declared to be impossible—the civilization of the red man.

And they achieved more than this. Acting on recommendations from their superiors, from bishop, sovereign and Pope, they brought about amalgamation of the native and European races, and thus made impossible those frequent wars of extermination of the aborigines that have cost the United States tens of thousands of lives and more than half a billion of treasure. Instead of our vacillating and contradictory policy of treating the Indians at one time as sovereign and independent nations,—making with them nearly seven hundred solemn treaties and covenants, which were broken almost as soon as signed, and at another as hosts and then enemies, and at still another as wards, pensioners, paupers and lunatics, they recognized them as children of a common father and acted towards them with a consideration that was in marked contrast with the relentless cruelty and injustice which ever characterized our dealings with them in our land of boasted freedom and equality.

Even Raynal, who was certainly no friend of religious orders, is forced to admit that certain of the missions of South America “had arrived at perhaps the degree of civilization to which it is possible to conduct a young people and certainly at a state far superior to that which existed in the rest of the new hemisphere.

“The laws were respected there, morals were pure, a happy brotherhood united every heart, all the useful arts were in a flourishing state, and even some of the more agreeable sciences. Plenty was universal.”

In these same missions, we are assured, “not a mortal crime was committed in a year.” And it is recorded of the Cahuapanas, a tribe of the Amazon, that so great was the humanizing effect of Christian teaching in them, that such a thing as a man abusing his wife by act or word was entirely unknown.

Such results could never have been achieved, had not the missionary's heart been in his work, and had he not a genuine affection for the people committed to his care. That this love for his neophytes existed, is evidenced by the fact that only obedience could withdraw him from his cherished children,

and when he was separated from them he was unhappy until he could rejoin them. Some of the missionaries spent forty years and more among their spiritual children, and accounted these the happiest years of their lives. One of them who had labored long among the Indians of the upper Amazon, expresses it as his belief that the love which a missionary has for the children he has engendered in Christ is greater than that of any carnal father or mother—*excede á mi var á todo amor de padre y aun de madre carnal*.

This affection of the missionary was fully reciprocated by his spiritual children. He could lead them where he would. When he was with them they were happy; when he was absent they were forlorn. Even to-day, after an absence of a century and more, the father-priest, as he is called, is a name to conjure with among many Indian tribes of the montaña, who know of him only through the traditions which have come down to them from their forefathers. Wherever his ministrations have been felt, his memory is still green. They still long for his return, and wonder why he remains away from them so long. And if he were to return again, he would be joyfully acclaimed by young and old, as he was generations ago,

“ Their Father and their Friend, Priest, Ruler, all in all.”

But when we consider the legislation which governed the Spaniard and his relations with the American race, and the point of view from which the aborigine was ever regarded, it is not surprising that the results achieved in dealing with the Indians have been so much more satisfactory in Latin America than those realized in the United States, and that the present status of the red man in Spain's former colonies in the New World is incomparably superior to that of his dusky brother in the north. In most parts of South as well as of Central America, the Indian enjoys by law the same rights of citizenship as the white man, and may aspire to the highest offices in the gift of the people. Full-blooded Indians, as well as half-castes, have, ever since the conquest, achieved marked

distinction in every walk of life, from the vale of the Anahuac to the pampas of Argentina.

No apology need be made, we trust, for this lengthy quotation. We wish we could make it longer. Space, however, must be left for a scene of contrast.

Unfortunately, however, for the Indians along the Huallaga and the Amazon, as for their brethren in the territory watered by the Orinoco and its affluents, the splendid missionary enterprise that achieved such remarkable results in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has been allowed to languish, and one now looks in vain for that activity and zeal, which at one time commanded the admiration of the entire Christian world.

The first blow to the missions came when the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies in 1767 by Charles III for reason *ocultas y reservadas*. The second was delivered a few decades later by the leaders of the War of Independence, when members of other religious orders were driven from the scenes of their missionary labors. Since then, owing to the constantly perturbed condition of a greater part of the continent, and the crippled financial condition of most of the republics, little has been done for the Indians in the vast territories watered by the Amazon and the Orinoco and their tributaries; and, as a consequence, many tribes that had, under the missionaries, made such notable advances in civilized life, have lapsed into barbarism and returned to their former wild life in the recesses of the forest.

Everywhere along the Parnapura, the Huallaga and the Amazon there exist the same evidences of ruin and abandonment as I had observed along the great waterways of Venezuela and Columbia. Where, during the heyday of missionary activity, there were flourishing towns and villages, there are now but a few rickety huts tenanted by a few wretched Indians, or a riot of tropical growth, which conceals every trace of former human habitations. Where there were at one time extensive grazing lands, over which roamed tens of

thousands of cattle, the property of peaceful and industrious natives, there is now a wilderness with every vestige of civilization entirely obliterated.

When I contemplated these scenes of desolation made desolate, my heart grew heavy. I pitied the abandoned Indians who, while under the benign guidance of the padres, had rapidly risen from the low states of savagery, in which they had been found, and who gave promise of soon emulating their brethren on the plateau as Christians and citizens, and marveled at the mote-eyed policy of the governments concerned in not converting all this latent energy into useful channels, instead of allowing it to go for naught. Sound political economy, if not Christian charity and Christian statesmanship should, one would think, impel legislators and philanthropists to make provisions for again taking up the work which was so unfortunately interrupted by the expulsion of the missionaries who had so nobly demonstrated their capacity as Christianizers and civilizers. To permit thousands of able-bodied men to roam wild in the forest, when they could be made, as they were before, useful and productive citizens, seems to evince not only a deplorable lack of statesmanship but also a total absence of that humanitarian spirit which should dominate the councils of every Christian republic.

Say what we will against the Spaniards, the Indian of the montaña fared far better under Spain than he has ever fared under any of the South American republics. For, with the single exception of Charles III, in the instance cited, the Spanish monarchs were always generous, and at times munificent in their support of the Indian missions, and gave the directors of them every assistance in their power. Nor was there but a feint of sincerity in their professed love for their dusky subjects of the American forest. They were all moved by the same spirit that actuated Philip II when he refused to abandon the Philippines because they were a source of expense instead of revenue to the Spanish crown.

And the leading conquistadores, in spite of their faults and the cruelties of many of them, manifested a genuine and prac-

tical interest in the conversion of the Indian, and, like their sovereigns, were ever ready to coöperate with the ministers of the Gospel in securing for the conquered races the benefits of Christian civilization and culture.

The conversion of the heathen, writes Prescott, "was a predominant motive with Cortes in his expedition. It was not a vain boast. He would have sacrificed his life for it at any time, and more than once, by his indiscreet zeal, he actually did place his life and the success of his enterprise in jeopardy. It was his great purpose to purify the land from the brutish abominations of the Aztecs by substituting the religion of Jesus. This gave to his expedition the character of a crusade. It furnished the best apology for the conquest, and does more than all other considerations toward enlisting our sympathies on the side of the conquerors."

Even that "son of sin and sorrow," Francisco Pizarro, was not the base and mercenary character that he is frequently depicted. Neither of him nor of his companions, with certain exceptions, can one truly say that the lust of gold was the sole "stimulus to their toil, the price of their perfidy, the true guerdon of their victories." There may have been, among his followers, "convicts and ruffians, the sweepings of prisons and purlieus," but it is paltering with truth to say even of the conquerors of Peru

Bajo color de religion
Van á buscar plata y oro.¹

I do not say that Pizarro and his companions did not desire gold. They did desire it, and, under the circumstances, it could not have been otherwise. But the desire for riches was secondary. For they recognized that, high above gold, there is a sphere in which man ennobles himself by serving God and humanity. They desired glory, but they desired to secure it by propagating the religion of Christ which their fatherland, notwithstanding the weakness of poor humanity, loved with an ardor that has never been surpassed. They

¹Under the color of religion, they go in quest of gold and silver.

were first and foremost crusaders of the Faith, and could say with Calderon's *Príncipe Constante*,

La fe de Dios á engrandecer venimos.
Suyo será el honor, suya le gloria.²

They had the faith that guided Columbus across the Sea of Darkness, that carried Cortes to the capital of Montezuma, that conducted Quesada to the plateau of Cundinamarca, that led Orellana down the mighty Amazon,—the faith, which, as Lope de Vega beautifully expresses it, gave

Al Rey infinitas tierras,
Y á Dios infinitas almas.³

We would fain transfer to these pages the further development of the author's thoughts on the religious and social problems of Latin America. But space forbids. We trust, however, that the foregoing extracts may move the reader to consult the work for himself. He surely will not be disappointed if he does so.

Though the work is a history, of the past and present, it is no less, rather it is more so, a most graphic description of scenery and adventure. It is not a guide-book, but a panorama, a moving-picture series, that makes the reader behold almost with his own eyes the scenes it portrays. If one were contemplating a visit to these countries one could do nothing better by way of preparation than to peruse these volumes; while those for whom so fair a dream of travel can never become a reality, may stay at home, and with these vivid paintings before them enjoy almost the actual experience of personal vision.

Mr. Mozans's is a many-sided mind. A scientist, a savant, he is no less an artist, a painter and a poet.

² We have come to aggrandize the faith of God. His will be the honor, His the glory.

³ To the King infinite lands, and to God infinite souls.

With a soul attuned to every mood of nature, his eye misses no phase of physical beauty, and his subtle spiritual intuition catches at once the ideal significance suggested by outline and color. Moreover, his power of description, of painting in colors of life that which he sees, is simply wonderful. Widely traveled in many lands, he summons as points of comparison the beauties of two hemispheres to bring out the lights and shades of the landscape before him. Then, too, into the colors and tints of his painting enter the brightest elements furnished by the greatest thinkers and poets of the world's literature. Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, English—the classics of all these tongues: Homer, Virgil, Dante, Calderon, Goethe, Milton—the master minds of each of them naturally and gracefully come to lend of their best to be woven into his tapestries.

Not the least valuable and interesting of these literary contributions are those drawn from the writings, both in prose and verse, of the South Americans themselves. As Mr. Roosevelt observes, in his introduction to the second volume, "we are far from realizing all that of recent years has been accomplished in South America. We are now fairly well acquainted with the great material advances that have been made in Chile and the Argentine, with the growth along cosmopolitan lines of cities like Buenos Ayres and Rio de Janeiro. But Doctor Mozans quite incidentally makes us understand the charm of the older and more typical Spanish-American cities, and brings to the attention of our people the extraordinary quantity of serious work in scholarship which has been achieved in the universities of these cities during the centuries immediately past; and he also shows how the forces of modern life are now vivifying this charming social, ancient life, which has so long been held back and perverted into wrong channels. The book ought to

make our people understand and appreciate far better than at present the South American nations which he visited, and the high and fine qualities of whose peoples he sketches so vividly”.

We must not omit to call attention, in conclusion, to the apposite material setting of these volumes. As regards paper, letterpress, illustration, and general appearance they are models of the book-maker's art. They are a joy to read and handle. *Forma digna materia.*

AN OLD-TIME PHILADELPHIA MATRON AND CONVERT FROM PRESBYTERIANISM.

MRS. RACHEL (HARVEY) MONTGOMERY, A. D. 1763-1819.

COMPILED BY REV. THOMAS COOKE MIDDLETON, D.D., O. S. A.

YEARS ago while on a chance visit to the church of St. Augustine, of the Augustinians, in Philadelphia, the writer was shown by the father sacristan an old time-worn and faded green silk preaching stole, which (he was told) had been made by a former parishioner of that church, and devout member of the congregation, as a gift to her pastor at the time, the reverend Docort Matthew Carr, O.S.A., a preacher of considerable note, and friend of Jefferson, who had secured from the venerated Father of his Country himself, General Washington, a donation of \$50.00 towards the building of St. Augustine's first church, which the Doctor had begun in 1796. By reference to the pew-registers of old St. Augustine's church, I find entered in Dr. Carr's hand the following historic names: "Pew No. 1, in North Middle Aisle, Mrs. Montgomery"; then, "Pew No. 5, Jasper Moylan", a noted lawyer of the post-Revolutionary period, and leading member of the Philadelphia Bar, brother, too, of General Stephen Moylan, Washington's gallant cavalry officer; "No. 6, Mathew Cary," the well known publisher, and writer on political and economical topics; and "No. 8, Louis Ryan", whose son, Charles

Ryan, with residence at the time on Arch Street, stated to the writer of these lines some forty years ago that it was through the inducement of his father, Louis Ryan, that General Washington made his offering of \$50 towards the founding of St. Augustine's church.¹

The stole to which we refer, which was destined purposely for her pastor's use on St. Patrick's Day, was the handiwork, the writer was also told, of a Mrs. Rachel (Harvey) Montgomery, of whom little else could be ascertained at that time than the tradition, now little else than a faint echo, handed down by people who had known that lady personally, or by first-hand sources, that she was a woman of means, much given to philanthropic work; the care of the poor and needy in the parish and "'round town", besides being caretaker of St. Augustine's altar and sacristy. In 1819, death date of Mrs. Montgomery, it is noteworthy that the parish lines of St. Augustine's, the fourth Catholic church building to be erected in Philadelphia, were almost limitless towards the North and West of that city. The care of the Faithful in both directions for very many miles taxed the energies of the Fathers as far northward as Burlington and Trenton, in New Jersey, besides several mission centers in Montgomery and Delaware counties in Pennsylvania, along with their numerous interlying stations, as Lambertville in New Jersey, Frankford, Manayunk, Norristown and Haverford in the two counties named—places referred to in the church registers at St. Augustine's.

But to return to Mrs. Montgomery. At the era the writer alludes to nearly fifty years ago, when he was

¹The entry of this donation by General Washington appears in the General's own private Expense Book under date of November 24, 1796, where it is recorded by his private secretary. This book, it may be added, is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia.

shown the green stole she had made for Doctor Carr, he furthermore learned (from the church books at St. Augustine's) that she had been baptized there conditionally by the Rev. Doctor Michael Hurley, successor to Doctor Carr in care of the church, on February 2, 1805, where fourteen years later, on April 30, 1819, her remains were interred. And this sums up about all the positive information attainable relating to this venerable lady at that time, though researches were never wholly given up until seven years ago, when (I speak of the year 1906) mere chance, it might be said, unveiled the mystery largely surrounding Mrs. Montgomery's life, her antecedents, her family, her social environments and character.

But just here (let the reader overlook the digression), a word or so as to the occasion which so happily afforded relief in our quandaries. In 1906 the writer had published a paper in these RECORDS,² which embodied his studies on Catholic mission life, but especially the labors therein of his brethren, in Central and Southern New Jersey, among them (pp. 73, 74) a reference to Mrs. Montgomery, who, while on a visit or may be in temporary residence (the fact is not clear), at what is now known as the seaside resort of Cape May, she, though not then a baptized Catholic, very stoutly stood up in defence of a stranger, (it was Dr. Hurley, of St. Augustine's church of Philadelphia), who, similarly on a visit to that at the time quite remote and little frequented point of our coast, was being maltreated rather roughly and very inhospitably by some of those islanders, when providentially in more senses than one Mrs. Montgomery heroically came to the Doctor's relief by rebuking and driving away his assailants, with the blessing, as afterwards appeared, of her own reception into that church, whose

² See the RECORDS for 1906, xvii, 67-85 and 144-179.

anointed minister she had been moved (not inspired?) to guard from harm.

The baptism in the Catholic Church of this sterling Philadelphia convert followed, as said, in 1805. Well, such was the purport of that paper, which appeared seven years ago in the RECORDS, along with an expression of regret on the writer's part that his fund of information relating to Mrs. Montgomery was so disappointingly meagre. But there's an old saying that substantially "whoso bides his time shall win his way." Month thus passed after month with the writer's hopes unfulfilled, when, in the summer of 1906, his patience won its reward. Very unexpectedly, and little hoped for, though, as may easily be imagined, to his great satisfaction, even jubilee, the writer was favored with a letter, welcomed indeed, written by a lineal descendant of Mrs. Rachel Montgomery, her paternal great-grandmother, in fact, as was stated, wherein as in other subsequent communications she supplied in as full detail as she could the main events of her very worthy Catholic ancestor's life.³

I should add in justification of my revealing herein the sources of my information, should any be called for, that it is with full permission of Miss Meigs that I make such free use of her historical family data. "I have your letter", she says in one of December 30, 1910, to the writer, "and am perfectly willing that you should use my name in your paper".

³ The letters referred to in the text running from June 7, 1906, the earliest, to January 28 of the present year, 1913, the last received, are penned by a lady by no means unknown in Philadelphia's highest social ranks, Miss Ann Ingersoll Meigs (of No. 1815 Pine street), daughter of Doctor John Forsyth Meigs, and granddaughter of Doctor Charles De Lucena Meigs, who married Mary Montgomery, daughter of the Mrs. Rachel (Harvey) Montgomery of our story.

These several letters, that is, when summarized: avoiding, as we do, certain repetitions therein, disclose the following facts and incidents in the life of Mrs. Rachel Montgomery as related by her Catholic descendant:

PARENTAGE AND FAMILY OF MRS. RACHEL (HARVEY)
MONTGOMERY.

Passages in square brackets by the Compiler.

"She was the first convert (to Catholicism) that I know of," writes Miss Meigs, "in my father's family, as I was the second . . . I have consulted Archbishop Ryan about writing to you and giving you these dates and he advised me to do so . . . I have seen some quotations from old family journals mentioning the fact that she was buried at St. Augustine's church, and that Mass was said for her by Fr. Hurley."

Miss Meigs is no doubt right in her statement relative to the burial of her great-grandmother at St. Augustine's. Years ago I discovered among the archives of that church an old yellowed chart (presumably still there), which antedated apparently the destruction of that venerable shrine of the Most High in 1844 by a mob of very un-American so-called Native Americans. On this chart, which gives a list of the persons who were buried in the old graveyard at St. Augustine's, I read among other names that of "Mrs. M." They were all set down in a number of columns in various places in the chart, thus indicating, I assume, the order of the graves in different quarters of the yard. But the several sites are not now known with certainty, as during the riots much damage was done to the graveyard; stones were displaced, monuments broken, many thrown down, though afterwards re-erected, I suppose, yet not always in their former positions. No stone now shows the name of Mrs. Montgomery. Nor would it be possible now to determine except approximately the site once marked by her grave. During the rebuilding of St. Augustine's three or four years later further displacements of the monuments would seem to have been unavoidable.

"The little that I know of her," continues Miss Meigs, "has been difficult to ascertain. For my family has never been accustomed to revere her as I do, or even to like her memory. She was a very devout woman, I am sure, and prominent in Catholic circles, then much smaller than now."

That Mrs. Montgomery was a "devout woman" seems easily and naturally believable, as it is true now as ever that few, if any, enter the Catholic Church in order to lead a life of worldliness; and conversely that few, if any, desert her for a life of holiness.

"She was the daughter of Sampson Harvey, of English Presbyterian stock, born in England on March 14, 1731, and Mary Marcy (?) born in Philadelphia, September —, 1738, where they were married (date unknown to me) and died; Sampson Harvey in 1801, and Mary, his wife, in 1798, both being buried at Old Swedes Church. They had not been long in this country before Rachel's birth, at Philadelphia, August 11, 1763, where she was married, October 26, 1781, to William Montgomery, a shipping merchant, born at Eglinton, New Jersey, January 30, 1752, and died April 30, 1819, at the age of fifty-six; her husband, who outlived her twelve years, dying (on day and month unknown) in 1831. William Montgomery was buried in the Presbyterian churchyard on Arch street above Tenth, in Philadelphia.

"I do not know where Mrs. Montgomery was educated. As perhaps accounting in part at least for her reception into the Catholic Church, I may add the fact of my having been told that she knew many French persons, or those of French descent, who were in this country at the time of the American Revolution and after, and in this way saw the Catholic Church with less blind eyes than most people of that day."⁴

"Shortly after my own conversion in 1889, I saw an old

⁴In the lists of pew-holders and members of the congregations of the Catholic churches of Philadelphia in the XVIIIth century are noteworthy the names of many foreigners of distinction; French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian. (See the indexes of these RECORDS, especially the Contribution-Lists, Lists of Pewholders, of Baptisms, Deaths, Marriages and the like.)

priest (now dead) at St. Augustine's [probably the late reverend Doctor Patrick A. Stanton in residence there with a few brief intervals since 1846] who told me that he remembered when he first went there, a very young man at the time, that there was a set of vestments called 'Mrs. Montgomery's vestments'; and I myself have a very small piece of an altar cloth which she made. An old lady, who had known friends of Mrs. Montgomery, gave this to my father, who in turn gave it to me. Mrs. Montgomery had a large family, ten children in all, whereof four died in infancy, one in youth, and the remaining five all married having descendants. One of them, Mary, was married to my grandfather Doctor Charles D. Meigs, whose son John Forsyth Meigs, one of the Doctor's ten children, and his wife Ann Wilcocks Ingersoll, who were married October 17, 1844, being my parents. In all we were eight children, of whom six lived to be men and women. My father, who was born October 3, 1818, died December 16, 1882; while my mother, who was born January 8, 1822, died December 30, 1856. I believe my great-grandmother was a woman of strong intellectual character, as shown among other incidents in that account of yours [that is, the paper on Atlantic City by the writer, quoted above], in her defence of Doctor Hurley at Cape May. Some of her children disliked greatly her becoming a Catholic, her conversion thereto giving rise to considerable unkindly comment on the part of her friends and acquaintances. From members of her own family too she met with much opposition, though throughout she was deeply loved by her children. [Social ostracism, it may be observed, on the abandonment of one's beliefs in order to return to the Church of one's forefathers is, we regret to say, no less unknown in our own times than in Mrs. Montgomery's day]. She was a pewholder at St. Augustine's church, her residence being near by at No. 128 (now 606) Arch Street, where she died, in 1819, as said."

Thus ends Miss Meigs's exceedingly interesting and really valuable contribution to the sources of her most worthy great-grandmother's story. And now follows

briefly an excerpt from another chronicler wherein some additional light is thrown on the life-work and valuable services of Mrs. Montgomery; a woman, as appears, who was so loyal to her Church amidst sacrifices of no little weight, and so benevolent in her works of mercy, both corporal and spiritual, during the fourteen years of her Catholic life.

From a brief allusion to her in a work published many years ago,⁵ whereof the Preface (to the first edition) bears the date "November 1, 1852", she seems to have been an active propagandist in matters relating to the Catholic Religion. The *Life* of the famed saintly Mother Seton, foundress of the Sisters of Charity in the United States, when describing the conversion to the Faith of Samuel Sutherland Cooper, a Philadelphia merchant and sea-captain, tells how Mrs. Montgomery, though her name is not given by the author, Doctor White, was instrumental in Mr. Cooper's abandonment of Protestantism by giving him an exposition of Catholic doctrines to read. The Doctor's words are to the effect that "A Catholic lady completed his (that is, Mr. Cooper's) sources of information by giving him a work that treated of the orthodox faith".⁶

In 1807 Mr. Cooper was baptized in the Catholic Church during a visit of Bishop (afterwards Archbishop)

⁵ *The Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton*, etc., by Charles I. White, D.D., 5th ed., Baltimore, Murphy, 1852.

⁶ A foot-note directs the reader to the Doctor's authority thus, "*Ami de la Religion*, December, 1843. "(P. 234, Bk. V., of the *Life*). And no further.

The *Ami* presumably is a reference to the Roman Catholic periodical with that title published in France at that epoch. Doctor White's way however of directing a would-be searcher of historical or other data to attempt the scanning of the pages of a newspaper for one full year is a pretty formidable deterrent towards one's attempt to verify one's sources.

Carroll to Philadelphia; and eleven years later, on his return from abroad (he had been in Italy), he was ordained in Baltimore, August 15, 1818, to the sacred order of priesthood.⁷ Though the name of this "Catholic lady" who in her apostolic zeal sought to bring others into the true path she herself had entered after so much mature thoughtfulness, (Mrs. Montgomery was forty-two years of age at her conversion), was not recorded by Doctor White, we learn from another source that she was the very Mrs. Montgomery of our tale. At least so it is stated positively by the late Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin in his *Researches* for January, 1911 (p. 40), though on what authority we are not told.

Be it however as it may, we now end our sketch, though with regret at its brevity, from the materials at hand, of a very graceful, venerable character in Philadelphia's annals; a woman that because of her many sterling gifts by nature and grace as displayed so efficaciously and openly in her life of good deeds may well deserve enrolment among the worthiest (may we not also say saintliest?) of Philadelphia's Christian Catholic matrons. May the soul of Rachel (Harvey) Montgomery then be at peace, in glory, for ever and ever.

T. C. M.

VILLANOVA COLLEGE, PA., January 31, 1913.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF
THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL
SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1912

PREPARED FOR THE 28TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
SOCIETY, DECEMBER 17, 1912, BY THE SECRETARY,
JANE CAMPBELL

AT this the 28th Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Society the Board of Managers can report a year of unremitting endeavor marked with a number of interesting features. The Board meets monthly on the second Tuesday; and though the officers and managers are busy men, engaged in engrossing work, lay or clerical, yet the attendance at these meetings has been good, and much important business has been transacted during the course of the year. The various Committees: Hall, Finance, Library, Historical Research, and Publication, have performed the duties allotted to them with care and fidelity; but it must be confessed they have been hampered in their efforts by the lack of the necessary means to carry out all their projects. This is a lack, however, that lies within the power of the Society itself to remedy; the method of doing so need merely be pointed out, and no doubt the members will hasten to do their part towards enabling these hard-working committees to perform their duties with satisfaction to themselves and the Society.

The Committee on Hall has attended to the absolutely necessary repairs, such as the mending of leaky spouts, and other essential (if prosaic) items.

The Committee on Historical Research furnishes the material for the Records, the Quarterly Magazine of the Society; and the Publication Committee attends to the printing. As all the members of the Society receive the result of the labors of these two committees four times each year, a more detailed account is not necessary; the members being able to judge for themselves of the great value of the work performed.

The Library Committee is always desirous of increasing the store of books, manuscripts, documents of various kinds, curios, pictures, etc., by gift or purchase. A number of valuable additions have been made during the year.

The Finance Committee has, perhaps, the most onerous duty to perform in attending to the financial affairs of the Society and seeing to it that money be furnished for the needs of the Society without excess of expenditure over income.

Among the important matters of business attended to during the year was the purchase of the Magazine owned, conducted and edited by the late Martin I. J. Griffin, who was Librarian of the Society at the time of his death (November, 1911). We refer to the *American Catholic Historical Researches* and its incorporation with the RECORDS of the American Catholic Historical Society. Mr. Griffin made a generous contribution by will to the Society; and his executors and the committee of the Society for making arrangements towards the continuation of the two magazines, came to a most amicable agreement; the last issue of the *Researches* being incorporated with the September number of the RECORDS. It was decided by the Board that, in order to meet the wishes of those persons who expected to bind together a complete copy of the *Researches*, two indexes should be published in the December number; the one being the regular

index of the RECORDS for the current issue; the other, an index of numbers One, Two and Three of the *Researches*, plus the September number of the combined magazines, which formed number Four of the *Researches*.

The name of the RECORDS has been retained, as copyright had been taken out under that title; but the name of the *Researches* was added in smaller type. Thus were these two valuable publications for the elucidation of Catholic history combined for the benefit of the Society.

Another important step taken by the Board was the appointment of a Board of Trustees to have charge of the *Endowment Fund*; the fund which has been established for providing a permanent source of revenue for the historical work of the Society. This Board of Trustees consists of James M. Willcox, John J. Sullivan, Hugh McCaffrey, Franklin S. Horn, and John W. Speckman. Their official title is: "Trustees of the Research and Publication Fund of the American Catholic Historical Society". At the present time this fund amounts to \$3662.86. It is the aim and hope of the Society to raise the amount to one hundred thousand dollars; for only by means of a permanent income in furtherance of the legitimate object of the Society (historic American Catholic research, and the collection of books, manuscripts and documents bearing on American Catholic history), can such work be adequately performed. Just here is where the members of the Society can help in the most practical manner by personally contributing to this Fund and by inducing others to do likewise. There are large numbers of Catholics in this country, and a determined effort on the part of all who are interested in the work of the Society would soon lead to the realization of the hope of the Board of Managers that this Endowment Fund might become an accomplished fact.

Another method of increasing the usefulness of the Society is to increase the membership; there being always room for every one who wishes to become actively engaged in the work. A number of new members was added during the past year, and I may add that the great majority of these additions to the membership were secured by Dr. Flick.

The Society lost a number of valuable members by death, namely:

Rt. Rev. Mgr. William Byrne, Boston.

Mrs. Joseph Drexel.

Mrs. Bernard N. Farren.

Mr. M. P. Heraty.

William F. Harrity, Esq.

Mr. Thomas H. Bambrick.

Mr. George H. Haverstick.

Mr. William McAleer.

Mr. F. H. McCann.

Also Miss Katharine A. R. Colgan, an active and efficient member of one of the committees and a great loss to the Society.

One of the interesting features of the work of the Society is a number of communications received in reference to historical matters from all parts of the country—places no less widely separated than Northampton, Massachusetts; Davenport, Iowa; Brooklyn, New York; Fredericksburg, Virginia; from Minnesota westward to Dublin abroad; thus showing how extended is the field of usefulness of the Society. In fact, the writers desired information, in almost every instance, of a sort which it is felt the Society alone can furnish.

The RECORDS of the Society are also widely known and much sought after by other historical societies and libraries, both public and private.

Early in the year a lecture was delivered by Father Bernard Vaughan, the distinguished English Jesuit. A large audience attended, and a handsome sum was added thereby to the treasury of the Society.

It may not be out of place to mention in this report that the Society is very hospitable to all Catholic enterprises that have their beginnings in Philadelphia. We have freely given the use of our rooms to many organizations; among which I may cite the St. Vincent's Aid Society, the Working Girls' Club, the Free Hospital for Poor Consumptives, etc. This hospitality, of course, is really a charity in the way of light, heat, wear and tear; seeing that if we did not allow these societies to meet here they would, in all probability, be obliged to pay for their accommodations.

The Society appointed a committee to attend a conference proposed by His Grace, the Most Rev. Archbishop Prendergast, for the object of forming a permanent organization for the spiritual care and education of deafmutes, which much-needed charity shall be a memorial to the late Archbishop Ryan. The appointed committee consisted of Very Rev. H. T. Drumgoole, Theodore A. Tack, Esq., Dr. L. F. Flick, Joseph L. McAleer, Esq., and John W. Speckman, Esq.

The Society has continued its membership in the Federation of Catholic Societies; Walter George Smith, Esq., being appointed to represent the Society.

Quite a number of valuable accessions have been made to the Library, but there is room for many more.

I cannot close this necessarily brief report of the work of the Board of Managers without making a strong appeal to the members and their friends—indeed, to the whole Catholic community—to the end that more persistent and more decided support be given to the Board, which, at a sacrifice of time, labor and funds, is making

such a good fight for the maintenance of this Society, the most important Catholic Society of its kind in the country. We appeal for members, life members or annual, for contributions of Catholic historical value, books, documents, relics, and for the speedy collection of the entire Endowment Fund; and when the importance of the work of the Society is thoroughly understood and appreciated, I am sure the appeal will not be made in vain.

JANE CAMPBELL,
Secretary.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 30, 1912.

Receipts.

Dues from active members.....	\$1531 50	
Dues from contributing members.....	12 00	
Dues from life members.....	450 00	
	<hr/>	\$1993 50
Subscription to <i>Records</i>	\$237 90	
Advertisements.....	96 00	
Sale of Records	10 75	
	<hr/>	344 65
Sale of duplicate magazines.....	55 60	
Donations.....	25 00	
Proceeds of lecture	1446 00	
Bequest of Mrs. Harron.....	300 00	
Bequest of Mr. Griffin, to Endowment Fund.	1000 00	
Interest on deposit.....	4 28	
	<hr/>	\$5169 03
Balance December 1, 1911.....		280 69
		<hr/>
		\$5449 72

Expenses.

Interest on mortgage.....	\$154 00	
Taxes and water rent.....	92 00	
Coal and gas.....	222 70	
Repairs	192 40	
Insurance on contents.....	60 00	
	<hr/>	\$731 10
Printing Records (4 numbers).....	478 05	
Stationery, postage, printing.....	345 93	
Dues in Federation of Hist. Soc.....	2 00	
Commissions.....	12 25	
Salary of clerk.....	480 00	
Expenses of lecture.....	533 25	
Repayment of loan	500 00	
Salary of Mr. M. I. J. Griffin, Librarian...	815 00	
Purchase of Researches.....	185 00	
	<hr/>	\$4072 58
Balance November 30, 1912.....		377 14
		<hr/>
		\$5449 72

Endowment Fund.

Amount in fund December 1, 1911.....	\$2340 00
Received since that date.....	236 00
Transferred from general fund, on account of Mr. Griffin's bequest.....	1000 00
Interest	56 86
	<hr/>
	\$3632 86

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR
1913

BOARD OF MANAGERS.

President—DR. LAWRENCE F. FLICK.

Vice-President—THE REV. FRANCIS P. SIEGFRIED.

Recording Secretary—MISS JANE CAMPBELL.

Corresponding Secretary—THE REV. HUGH T. HENRY,
Litt.D., LL.D.

Treasurer—MR. IGNATIUS J. DOHAN.

THE RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR P. R. McDEVITT.

THE VERY REV. H. T. DRUMGOOLE, LL. D.

WALTER GEORGE SMITH.

J. PERCY KEATING.

SAMUEL CASTNER, JR.

MRS. HONOR WALSH.

THE REV. WILLIAM J. MCCALLEN, PH. D.

EDWARD J. GALBALLY.

JOSEPH M. ENGEL.

MRS. WILLIAM J. DOYLE.

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

COMMITTEE ON LIBRARY AND CABINET.

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Mrs. James A. Mundy.

Miss Jane McHugh.

Miss Katherine Brégy.

Miss Ella Flick.

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

The Rev. William J. McCallen, Ph. D., Chairman.
The Very Rev. T. C. Middleton, D. D., O.S.A.
The Right Rev. Monsignor P. R. McDevitt.
The Rev. H. C. Schuyler.
The Rev. William J. Lallou.
The Rev. Francis P. Siegfried.
The Rev. E. J. Curran.
Dr. William L. J. Griffin.
Mr. P. A. Kinsley.

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Mr. James P. Considine.
Mr. Joseph P. Gaffney.

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Mr. John F. Skelly.
Mr. Jeremiah J. Sullivan, Jr.

COMMITTEE ON HALL.

Mrs. William J. Doyle, Chairman.
Mrs. Ignatius J. Dohan.
Mrs. John J. McKenna.
Mrs. James A. Donnelly.
Mrs. Lawrence F. Flick.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Rev. Prof. Umberto Benigni, Rome, Italy.
Rev. P. De Roo, Portland, Oregon.
Prof. Jas. F. Edwards, Notre Dame, Indiana.
His Eminence, Diomedes Cardinal Falconio, Rome, Italy.
Rt. Rev. Francis Aidan Gasquet, O.S.B., London, England.
Rev. Thomas Hughes, S.J., Rome, Italy.
Rev. A. A. Lambing, Wilkinsburg, Pa.
His Eminence, Sebastian Cardinal Martinelli, Rome, Italy.
His Eminence, William Cardinal O'Connell, Boston, Mass.
Dr. Ludwig Pastor, Innsbruck, Austria.
Marc. F. Vallette, LL.D., New York, N. Y.
Wilfrid Ward, London, England.

LIFE MEMBERS.

* Amy, Henry, New York.
* Antelo, A. J., Pennsylvania.
* Bambrick, Thos. H., Pennsylvania.
* Barry, Rev. Thomas J., Pennsylvania.
* Benziger, Louis, New York.
* Blight, Miss E. R., Pennsylvania.
* Bolan, Thos. V., Pennsylvania.
* Boyle, P., Pennsylvania.
* Boyle, William, Pennsylvania.
* Brasier, Miss M. E., Pennsylvania.
Brennan, Mrs. James A., Massachusetts.
Brosseau, Z. P., Illinois.
* Buchman, Frank, M.D., Pennsylvania.
Burke, Mrs. Alice N., Pennsylvania.
Burke, Rt. Rev. Maurice F., D.D., Missouri.
Campbell, Miss Jane, Pennsylvania.

* Deceased.

- Campbell, John M., Pennsylvania.
Canevin, Rt. Rev. Regis, D.D., Pennsylvania.
Castner, Philip, Pennsylvania.
Castner, Samuel, Jr., Pennsylvania.
Castner, Mrs. Samuel, Jr., Pennsylvania.
Castner, Samuel J., Pennsylvania.
* Coleman, Henry T., LL.D., Pennsylvania.
Cooney, John, Pennsylvania.
* Corrigan, Most Rev. M. A., D.D., New York.
Coulehan, W. T., Maryland.
* Cullinan, Col. Ralph F., Pennsylvania.
Cunningham, Francis A., Pennsylvania.
* Daly, H. M., Pennsylvania.
Deering, Rev. Laurence A., Pennsylvania.
Dempsey, John T., Pennsylvania.
* Devine, Mrs. Mark, Pennsylvania.
Devine, Miss Mary K., Pennsylvania.
* Devine, Patrick, Pennsylvania.
Devlin, Thomas, Pennsylvania.
* Dignan, John, Pennsylvania.
Dohan, Ignatius J., Pennsylvania.
Dohan, Mrs. Ignatius J., Pennsylvania.
Donnelly, Miss Eleanor C., Pennsylvania.
Dougherty, Charles H., Pennsylvania.
* Douredoure, Bernard L., Pennsylvania.
Doyle, John M., Pennsylvania.
Doyle, William J., Pennsylvania.
Doyle, Mrs. Wm. J., Pennsylvania.
* Drexel, Mrs. Joseph W., Pennsylvania.
Dugan, Rev. H. J., Pennsylvania.
* Elder, Most Rev. Wm. H., D.D., Ohio.
Engel, Joseph M., Pennsylvania.
* Esling, Chas. H. A., Dresden.
Farrelly, Stephen, New York.
* Farren, Bernard N., Pennsylvania.
Fast, Mrs. A. P., Pennsylvania.
Fitzmaurice, Rt. Rev. J. E., D.D., Pennsylvania.
* Fitzmaurice, Rev. Jas. J., Pennsylvania.

- * Fitzpatrick, Miss Mary, Pennsylvania.
- * Fitzpatrick, Philip, Pennsylvania.
- Flick, Lawrence F., M.D., Pennsylvania.
- Flick, Mrs. Lawrence F., Pennsylvania.
- Foley, Patrick, Pennsylvania.
- Ford, Peter, Delaware.
- Frey, Joseph, New York.
- Gaffney, Jas. P., Maryland.
- * Gallagher, Charles J., Pennsylvania.
- Gallagher, Christopher, Pennsylvania.
- Garvan, Hon. Patrick, Connecticut.
- Garvey, Rev. Hugh P., Pennsylvania.
- * Garvey, Right Rev. Mgr. P. J., D.D., Pennsylvania.
- * Gibson, Alfred C., Pennsylvania.
- * Gill, James F., Pennsylvania.
- Gorman, William, Pennsylvania.
- Griffin, Rev. Martin I. J., Minnesota.
- * Griffin, Martin I. J., Pennsylvania.
- Griffin, Dr. Wm. L. J., Pennsylvania.
- * Hallahan, John W., Pennsylvania.
- Hallahan, P. T., Pennsylvania.
- Hallahan, Walter J., Pennsylvania.
- Hand, Rev. Matthew A., Pennsylvania.
- * Hardy, Charles A., Pennsylvania.
- Harold, John L., Pennsylvania.
- * Harrity, Wm. F., Pennsylvania.
- * Hastings, James, Pennsylvania.
- Henry, Rev. H. T., Litt.D., LL.D., Pennsylvania.
- * Heraty, Edwin J., Pennsylvania.
- * Heraty, M. P., Pennsylvania.
- * Heraty, Philip F., Pennsylvania.
- Hesson, Wm. V., Pennsylvania.
- Heuser, Rev. Herman J., D.D., Pennsylvania.
- Higgins, Robert, Pennsylvania.
- Hirst, A. A., Pennsylvania.
- Hoban, Rt. Rev. M. J., D.D., Pennsylvania.
- * Hookey, Anthony C., Pennsylvania.
- Horn, Franklin S., Pennsylvania.

- * Horn, John J., Pennsylvania.
- Horstmann, Ignatius J., Pennsylvania.
- Howlett, M. P., Pennsylvania.
- Jenkins, Miss E. L., Maryland.
- Jenkins, Michael, Maryland.
- Keating, J. Percy, Pennsylvania.
- * Keefe, Joseph I., Pennsylvania.
- Kelly, John A., Pennsylvania.
- * Kenny, C. D., Maryland.
- Kernan, P. F., Pennsylvania.
- Kieran, Rt. Rev. Mgr. William, D.D., Pennsylvania.
- King, C. F., Pennsylvania.
- Koecker, Miss Leonora L., Pennsylvania.
- Koecker, Miss Sophie M., Pennsylvania.
- Lane, Cornelius A., Pennsylvania.
- * La Roche, Dr. C. P. de, Pennsylvania.
- Lonergan, John E., Pennsylvania.
- Lonergan, Mrs. John E., Pennsylvania.
- Lynch, Miss Mary, New Mexico.
- McCabe, Rev. M. J., Pennsylvania.
- McCaffrey, Hugh, Pennsylvania.
- McCaffrey, Mrs. Hugh, Pennsylvania.
- * McCaffrey, J. Carroll, Pennsylvania.
- McCallen, Rev. Wm. J., Ph.D., Pennsylvania.
- * McCaul, Charles, Pennsylvania.
- McClatchey, John H., Pennsylvania.
- McCullen, Joseph P., Pennsylvania.
- McDonough, M. F., Pennsylvania.
- * McEnroe, Rev. M. C., Pennsylvania.
- McFadden, John W., Pennsylvania.
- McFall, Miss A., Pennsylvania.
- McGlinchey, Rev. D. I., Pennsylvania.
- McGolrick, Rt. Rev. James, D.D., Minnesota.
- * McGrann, B. J., Pennsylvania.
- * McGrath, Mrs. Catharine A., Pennsylvania.
- McGrath, Wm. V., Jr., Pennsylvania.
- * McLaughlin, Miss Stella, Pennsylvania.
- McManus, Francis, Jr., Pennsylvania.

Mack, John M., Pennsylvania.
Mack, Mrs. John M., Pennsylvania.
Maloney, Marquis Martin, Pennsylvania.
* Maloney, William, Pennsylvania.
Martin, Simon J., Pennsylvania.
* Megargee, Mrs. A. M. B., Pennsylvania.
Messmer, Mt. Rev. Sebastian G., D.D., Wisconsin.
Michel, Rev. Geo. A., Pennsylvania.
Moeller, Mt. Rev. Henry, D.D., Ohio.
Moloney, Thomas, Pennsylvania.
* Montgomery, Most Rev. Geo., D.D., California.
Morrell, Gen. Edward DeV., Pennsylvania.
Morrell, Mrs. Edward DeV., Pennsylvania.
Murphy, Michael, Pennsylvania.
* Murta, John P., Pennsylvania.
O'Callaghan, M. J., Pennsylvania.
O'Herin, William, Kansas.
* O'Neill, Thomas, Pennsylvania.
Penfield, Mrs. Frederic C., New York.
* Phelan, Rt. Rev. Richard, D.D., Pennsylvania.
* Philips, Ferdinand, Pennsylvania.
Prendergast, Most Rev. Edmond F., D.D., Pennsylvania.
* Prendergast, M. T., M.D., Pennsylvania.
* Priestman, Miss Amelia, Pennsylvania.
Rahilly, Rev. Edw. J., Pennsylvania.
Reuss, Francis X., Pennsylvania.
* Reynolds, Mrs. A. R., Pennsylvania.
* Richards, Miss Harriet, Pennsylvania.
* Riggs, E. Francis, Washington, D. C.
Robinson, J. C., Pennsylvania.
Robinson, Rev. Paschal, O.F.M., New York.
* Rogers, Col. John I., Pennsylvania.
Ryan, James J., Pennsylvania.
Ryan, Hon. Michael J., Pennsylvania.
* Ryan, Most Rev. P. J., D.D., LL.D., Pennsylvania.
* Ryan, Rt. Rev. S. V., D.D., New York.
Schneider, Rev. Fred. M., New York.
Shannon, Rev. T. F., Pennsylvania.

Sheahan, Mrs. John Carroll, Pennsylvania.
Sheridan, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Peter J., Pennsylvania.
Shipman, Andrew J., New York.
Siegfried, Rev. Francis P., Pennsylvania.
* Sinnott, Joseph F., Pennsylvania.
Sinnott, Mrs. Joseph F., Pennsylvania.
Smith, Rev. James J., Pennsylvania.
Smith, Miss Miriam E., Pennsylvania.
* Smith, Miss Sara Trainer, Pennsylvania.
Smith, Walter George, Pennsylvania.
Steward, N. Harper, Pennsylvania.
Strittmatter, I. P., M.D., Pennsylvania.
Sullivan, James F., Pennsylvania.
Sullivan, Jeremiah J., Pennsylvania.
Sullivan, Jeremiah J., Jr., Pennsylvania.
Sullivan, John C., Pennsylvania.
Sullivan, Rev. William M., Pennsylvania.
Taggart, Hugh T., Washington, D. C.
* Thomas, Cockcroft, Pennsylvania.
Tierney, Thomas F., Pennsylvania.
* Toner, Miss M. A., Pennsylvania.
Trainor, Rt. Rev. Mgr. James F., Pennsylvania.
* Twibill, Geo. A., Pennsylvania.
St. Vincent's College, Beatty, Penna.
St. Vincent's Seminary, Germantown, Penna.
Walsh, Mrs. Honor, Pennsylvania.
Walsh, Rev. Nicholas R., Massachusetts.
Ward, James B., Pennsylvania.
Ward, John J., Pennsylvania.
Wastl, Rev. Francis X., Pennsylvania.
* White, Richard P., Pennsylvania.
White, Mrs. Richard P., Pennsylvania.
* Wolff, Geo. D., Pennsylvania.

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Abbott, H. J., Pennsylvania.
Allen, Miss Katherine R., Pennsylvania.
Baker, Rev. Henry W., Pennsylvania.

Bartilucci, Jos. P., Pennsylvania.
Bennett, William Harper, New York.
Benziger, Louis G., New York.
Bobe, Miss Estella C., Ohio.
Bonner, Francis C., Pennsylvania.
Bornemann, Rt. Rev. Mgr. George, Pennsylvania.
Boylan, James F., Pennsylvania.
Brady, Rev. Francis Aidan, Pennsylvania.
Brady, James, Pennsylvania.
Breen, James J., Pennsylvania.
Brégy, Miss Katherine, Pennsylvania.
Bremmer, D. F., Illinois.
Brennan, Rev. Thomas C., Pennsylvania.
Brennan, William F., Pennsylvania.
Brogan, J. P., Ohio.
Brown, George A., Pennsylvania.
Brownson Council, K. of C., Pennsylvania.
Buck, A. W., Pennsylvania.
Buckley, John J., Pennsylvania.
Burk, Henry, Jr., Pennsylvania.
Burke, Mrs. Alice N., Pennsylvania.
Burke, M. M., Pennsylvania.
Burleigh, John J., New Jersey.
Burns, Rev. Jas. A., C.S.C., Ph.D., Washington, D. C.
Byrnes, Wm. F., M.D., Washington, D. C.
Cahill, Miss Ellen, Pennsylvania.
Callanan, L. J., New York.
Campbell, Mrs. John M., Pennsylvania.
Campbell, Dr. Wm. J., Pennsylvania.
Campbell, Wm. J., Pennsylvania.
Caraher, Eugene J., Pennsylvania.
Carroll, Charles, Council K. of C., Pennsylvania.
Carton, Rev. J. J., Pennsylvania.
Casey, A. J., Pennsylvania.
Charbonneau, Dr. Lionel C., New York.
Chidwick, Very Rev. John P., New York.
Clare, Miss M. C., Pennsylvania.
Clark, Henry F., Pennsylvania.

- Clowney, William H., Pennsylvania.
Coakley, Rev. James E., Pennsylvania.
Coghlan, Rev. Gerald P., Pennsylvania.
Coleman, Rev. M., California.
Conaty, Rt. Rev. Thomas J., D.D., California.
Connellan, John H., Pennsylvania.
Connolly, Rev. Arthur T., Massachusetts.
Connor, William T., Pennsylvania.
Conrad, Rt. Rev. Frowenus, O.S.B., Missouri.
Considine, James P., Pennsylvania.
Coogan, Richard, Pennsylvania.
Corbett, Rev. D. A., Pennsylvania.
Corrigan, Rev. Jos. M., D.D., Pennsylvania.
Coyle, Dr. John G., New York.
Coyle, John J., Pennsylvania.
Creahan, John, Pennsylvania.
Crowley, Geo. W., Pennsylvania.
Cummings, Dr. Charles J., Pennsylvania.
Curran, Rev. Edward J., Pennsylvania.
Curran, Miss K. M., Pennsylvania.
Curran, Mrs. M. A., Pennsylvania.
Daily, H. A. N., Pennsylvania.
Daily, John I., Pennsylvania.
Daily, M., Pennsylvania.
Dallett, Miss Ada, Pennsylvania.
Daly, Rev. Daniel A., Pennsylvania.
Daly, J. Burrwood, Pennsylvania.
Daly, Hon. J. F., New York.
Daly, Thomas A., LL.D., Pennsylvania.
Daly, T. M., Pennsylvania.
Daly, Mrs. T. M., Pennsylvania.
D'Ascenzo, Nicola, Pennsylvania.
Dempsey, Mrs. M. A., Pennsylvania.
Dever, Rev. Stephen P., D.D., Pennsylvania.
Devine, B. F. R., Pennsylvania.
Devitt, Rev. E. I., S.J., Washington, D. C.
Devney, Joseph Jordan, Ohio.
Diamond, John, Pennsylvania.

Dohan, Mrs. M. I., Pennsylvania.
Doherty, John P., Pennsylvania.
Donnelly, Charles P., Pennsylvania.
Donnelly, Mrs. J. A., Pennsylvania.
Donnelly, John, Pennsylvania.
Dooley, Miss Julia, Pennsylvania.
Dooner, Edward J., Pennsylvania.
Dorres, Miss Mary C., Pennsylvania.
Dougherty, Rev. Francis P., Pennsylvania.
Dougherty, John A., Pennsylvania.
Dougherty, Philip J., Pennsylvania.
Douredoure, Dr. Eveleen A., Pennsylvania.
Dowling, Geo. J. S., New York.
Dowling, Hon. Victor J., New York.
Doyle, Francis J., Pennsylvania.
Doyle, Michael Francis, Pennsylvania.
Doyle, Peter H., Pennsylvania.
Drueding, Charles C., Pennsylvania.
Drumgoole, Very Rev. Henry T., LL.D., Pennsylvania.
Drumgoole, J. P., Pennsylvania.
Duggan, Rev. D. J., New Jersey.
Dunn, T. W., New York.
Durkin, D. F., Jr., Pennsylvania.
Durkin, Joseph L., Pennsylvania.
Ellis, Mrs. G. W., Pennsylvania.
Esling, Henry C., Pennsylvania.
Fahy, Thomas A., Pennsylvania.
Fahy, Walter Thomas, Pennsylvania.
Farley, His Eminence John, Cardinal, New York.
Fay, Mrs. Margaret, Pennsylvania.
Ferreck, John J., Pennsylvania.
Finck, Mrs. Edward Beecher, Pennsylvania.
Fisher, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Nevin F., Pennsylvania.
Fitzgerald, John E., Pennsylvania.
Fitzgibbon, Rev. D. J., C.S.Sp., Pennsylvania.
Fitzmaurice, Michael, Pennsylvania.
Fitzpatrick, Aloysius L., Pennsylvania.
Fitzpatrick, Rev. Fenton, Pennsylvania.

Fitzpatrick, James, Pennsylvania.
Fitzpatrick, Miss Mary, Pennsylvania.
Fitzpatrick, Thomas B., Massachusetts.
Flaherty, James A., LL.D., Pennsylvania.
Flanagan, Miss Alice M., Pennsylvania.
Fleming, Rev. John C., Pennsylvania.
Flick, Miss Ella, Pennsylvania.
Flick, John A., New Jersey.
Flick, Lawrence F., Jr., Pennsylvania.
Flick, Miss Mercedes, Pennsylvania.
Flood, Rev. John E., Pennsylvania.
Fogarty, James P., Pennsylvania.
Fogarty, Rev. P. F., Pennsylvania.
Ford, George A., Pennsylvania.
Fountain, Gen. Samuel W., Pennsylvania.
Fountain, Mrs. Samuel W., Pennsylvania.
Francis, Mother M., Pennsylvania.
Furey, Francis T., Pennsylvania.
Gaffney, Joseph P., Pennsylvania.
Galbally, Edward J., Pennsylvania.
Gallagher, Francis, Pennsylvania.
Gallagher, Rev. James A., Pennsylvania.
Gallagher, Miss Mary, Pennsylvania.
Gallagher, Rev. Patrick J., Pennsylvania.
Gans, Edgar H., Maryland.
Gassler, Rev. F. L., Louisiana.
Gates, Mrs. Thos. S., Pennsylvania.
Geraghty, Michael J., Pennsylvania.
Gibbons, His Eminence J. Cardinal, Maryland.
Gleason, James H., Pennsylvania.
Gough, Rev. Walter P., Pennsylvania.
Grannan, Very Rev. Chas. P., D.D., New York.
Gray, Joseph A., Pennsylvania.
Hagan, Peter, Pennsylvania.
Hallahan, Mrs. P. T., Pennsylvania.
Hally, Rev. J. A., Michigan.
Halvey, Mrs. T. F., Pennsylvania.
Hannan, John, New York.

Harkins, Rt. Rev. M., D.D., Rhode Island.
Harrigan, Frank A., Pennsylvania.
Harton, Mrs. Pembroke D., Pennsylvania.
Hauck, Francis X., Pennsylvania.
Haverstick, Mrs. Geo. H., Pennsylvania.
Haverstick, Horace, Pennsylvania.
Hayes, Rev. James, C.S.S.R., Massachusetts.
Hayes, William A., Pennsylvania.
Heffernan, Rev. J. A., Pennsylvania.
Henderson, John J., Pennsylvania.
Hennessy, Rt. Rev. John J., D.D., Kansas.
Heraty, Miss M. A., Pennsylvania.
Hertkorn, Rev. F. J., Pennsylvania.
Hespelein, Rev. George, C., S.S.R., Pennsylvania.
Hickey, Rev. John F., Ohio.
Hickley, Leonard A., Pennsylvania.
Higgins, Rev. Wm. J., Pennsylvania.
Hill, John J., Pennsylvania.
Hill, Rev. M. P., S.J., New York.
Hirst, Mrs. Anthony A., Pennsylvania.
Holt, John P., Pennsylvania.
Hookey, Frank A., Pennsylvania.
Hookey, Mrs. Frank A., Pennsylvania.
Horn, Miss Mary C., Pennsylvania.
Horn, Norris J., Pennsylvania.
Horn, William H., Pennsylvania.
Horn, William H., Jr., Pennsylvania.
Hough, Oliver, Pennsylvania.
Huber, Rt. Rev. Vincent, O.S.B., Illinois.
Huneker, John F., Pennsylvania.
Ireland, Most Rev. John, D.D., Minnesota.
Johnson, Mrs. Lindley, Pennsylvania.
Junker, Jules, Pennsylvania.
Kaulakis, Rev. Jos. J., Pennsylvania.
Keane, Most Rev. John J., D.D., Iowa.
Kearney, Right Rev. Mgr. John F., New York.
Keegan, Arthur I., Pennsylvania.
Keen, Gregory B., Pennsylvania.

Keenan, Andrew J., Pennsylvania.
Kehoe, Rev. D. J., D.D., Pennsylvania.
Kelley, James M., Pennsylvania.
Kelly, Mrs. Edward J., Pennsylvania.
Kelly, Francis E., Pennsylvania.
Kelly, Rev. Joseph A., Pennsylvania.
Kelly, Rev. Joseph S., Pennsylvania.
Kelly, Miss Margaret Kuhl, Pennsylvania.
Kennedy, Rt. Rev. Thos. F., D.D., Rome, Italy.
Kiernan, Rev. John F., Pennsylvania.
King, James W., Pennsylvania.
Kinsley, P. A., Pennsylvania.
Kirlin, Rev. J. L. J., Pennsylvania.
Kite, Miss Elizabeth G., Pennsylvania.
Kittell, Rev. Ferdinand, Pennsylvania.
Klouchek, Rev. Ladislav, Ph.D., Pennsylvania.
Koch, Rt. Rev. Mgr. J. J., D.D., Pennsylvania.
Kremp, Mrs. Jos. P., Pennsylvania.
Kuhn, John R., New York.
Lallou, Rev. Wm. J., Pennsylvania.
Lanahan, F. A., Pennsylvania.
Lant, Miss E. J. D., Pennsylvania.
Lant, Mrs. W. E., Pennsylvania.
LaPlace, Ernest, M.D., Pennsylvania.
Lavelle, Rt. Rev. Mgr. M. J., New York.
Lavis, David, Pennsylvania.
Leigo, Mrs. John P., Pennsylvania.
Lesley, Mrs. Robert W., Pennsylvania.
Lingg, Frederick C., Pennsylvania.
Loeffler, William, Pennsylvania.
Logan, Mrs. Mary E., Pennsylvania.
Logue, Edward J., Pennsylvania.
Logue, J. Washington, Pennsylvania.
Lonergan, Thomas S., New York.
Loretto Heights Academy, Colorado.
Love, Miss Katharine G., Pennsylvania.
Lynch, Edw. D. C., Pennsylvania.
Lyon, Henry F., Pennsylvania.

Lyons, Rev. Charles W., S.J., Pennsylvania.
McAleer, John H., Pennsylvania.
McAleer, Joseph L., Pennsylvania.
McAnany, Hugh, Jr., Pennsylvania.
McAteer, John, Pennsylvania.
McCabe, Patrick, Pennsylvania.
McCaffery, Hugh, Pennsylvania.
McCarthy, Dr. Daniel J., Pennsylvania.
McCarthy, Henry A., Pennsylvania.
McCarthy, J. A., Pennsylvania.
McCready, Right Rev. Mgr. Chas., LL.D., New York.
McDevitt, Miss Helen C., Pennsylvania.
McDevitt, Joseph T., Pennsylvania.
McDevitt, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Philip R., Pennsylvania.
MacDonald, John J., Pennsylvania.
McDonald, Rev. Joseph A., Pennsylvania.
McEnery, M. J., Pennsylvania.
McFaul, Rt. Rev. James A., D.D., New Jersey.
McGarvey, John N., Pennsylvania.
McGeogh, Mrs. Mary, Pennsylvania.
McGinley, Rev. Daniel L., Pennsylvania.
MacGinley, Rev. Leo P., D.D., Pennsylvania.
McGlinn, John, Pennsylvania.
McGowan, Miss A. M., Pennsylvania.
McGrath, Louis J., Pennsylvania.
McHugh, Miss Jane M., Pennsylvania.
McHugh, Wm. J., Pennsylvania.
McKay, Rev. Alexander, D.D., Pennsylvania.
McKenna, Rev. Bernard A., Pennsylvania.
McKenna, Mrs. John J., Pennsylvania.
McKiernan, Lieut. S. G., New Jersey.
McKinny, Rev. Geo. V., C.M., Maryland.
McManus, Charles A., Pennsylvania.
McManus, Mrs. M. A., Pennsylvania.
McNichol, Hon. James P., Pennsylvania.
McQuaid, Right Rev. Mgr. Wm. P., Massachusetts.
McSherry, Wm., Jr., Pennsylvania.
McVeigh, Jas. F., Pennsylvania.

McVey, John Joseph, Pennsylvania.
Magee, Joseph G., Pennsylvania.
Maguire, Miss E. V., Pennsylvania.
Maguire, Edw. T., Pennsylvania.
Maguire, Francis Lyttleton, Pennsylvania.
Mahony, D. H., Pennsylvania.
Mair, Charles A., Illinois.
Mallon, Dr. Edward A., Pennsylvania.
Maloney, A. P., Pennsylvania.
Maloney, Mrs. Martin, Pennsylvania.
Maneely, Francis J., Pennsylvania.
Maneely, James, Pennsylvania.
Martin, Rev. John H., Pennsylvania.
Mealey, Rev. John P., Pennsylvania.
Meeley, Miss A. C., Pennsylvania.
Michel, Jacob, Jr., Pennsylvania.
Michell, F. J., Pennsylvania.
Michell, Henry F., Pennsylvania.
Middleton, Very Rev. T. C., D.D., O.S.A., Pennsylvania.
Millar, Edward A., Pennsylvania.
Monaghan, Rt. Rev. J. J., D.D., Delaware.
Montague, Miss Elizabeth G., Pennsylvania.
Mooney, Rt. Rev. Mgr. J. F., New York.
Moore, Miss S. A., Pennsylvania.
Moore, Rev. Thos. F., Pennsylvania.
Mulconroy, James J., Pennsylvania.
Mulholland, Miss Mary, Pennsylvania.
Müller, Philip R., Pennsylvania.
Mulry, Thomas M., New York.
Munday, Rev. Peter, Pennsylvania.
Mundy, Mrs. James A., Pennsylvania.
Murphey, H. L., Pennsylvania.
Murphy, Rev. Eugene, Pennsylvania.
Murphy, M., Pennsylvania.
Murray, Joseph Edward, Pennsylvania.
Murrin, James B., Pennsylvania.
Nash, Rev. James, Pennsylvania.
Newnam, Mrs. H. B., Pennsylvania.

Nolan, Edward J., M.D., Pennsylvania.
Norton, Rev. Lemuel B., Pennsylvania.
O'Callaghan, Rt. Rev. Mgr. D., Massachusetts.
O'Callaghan, M. J., Pennsylvania.
O'Connell, Rt. Rev. D. J., D.D., Virginia.
O'Connell, Daniel, Pennsylvania.
O'Connor, Rev. J. L., Pennsylvania.
O'Donnell, Rev. E. H., Pennsylvania.
O'Hara, Rev. Joseph M., Pennsylvania.
O'Hara, Miss Margaret G., Pennsylvania.
O'Kane, Miss Katherine, Pennsylvania.
O'Kane, Rev. M. A., S.J., Pennsylvania.
O'Keefe, John, Pennsylvania.
O'Keefe, Very Rev. Jos. F., V.F., Pennsylvania.
O'Keeffe, Patrick James, Illinois.
Oliver, Mrs. Wm., Pennsylvania.
O'Meara, Michael, Pennsylvania.
O'Meara, Stephen, Massachusetts.
O'Neill, Rev. John F., Pennsylvania.
O'Reilly, Rev. James, Pennsylvania.
Ortynsky, Rt. Rev. Soter S., D.D., Pennsylvania.
O'Shea, John J., Pennsylvania.
O'Sullivan, James, Pennsylvania.
Pallen, Condé B., PhD., LL.D., New York.
Parker, Rev. Jas. P., Pennsylvania.
Perry, James H., Pennsylvania.
Phelan, Rev. John C., Pennsylvania.
Phelan, Rev. Thomas P., New York.
Philadelphia Council, K. of C., Pennsylvania.
Power, Dr. Arnold VanDyke, Pennsylvania.
Power, Mrs. Arnold VanDyke, Pennsylvania.
Power, W. J., Pennsylvania.
Provincial, V. Rev. Father, S.J., Missouri.
Quinn, Rev. Francis A., D.D., Pennsylvania.
Rainer, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Joseph, Wisconsin.
Reilly, A. J., Pennsylvania.
Reilly, Peter, Pennsylvania.
Reilly, Richard M., Pennsylvania.

- Reilly, Thomas, Pennsylvania.
Ridder, Herman, New York.
Rosatto, Mrs. Frank, Pennsylvania.
Rourke, W. J., Pennsylvania.
Routt, Harvey J., Illinois.
St. Lawrence Council, K. of C., Pennsylvania.
San Salvador Council, K. of C., Pennsylvania.
Santa Maria Council, K. of C., Pennsylvania.
Schade, Rev. Jos. I., Pennsylvania.
Scherf, Rev. Aloysius, Pennsylvania.
Schmidt, Christian, Pennsylvania.
Schuyler, Rev. Henry C., Pennsylvania.
Schuyler, Wm. Bishop, Pennsylvania.
Shahan, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Thomas J., D.D., Washington, D. C.
Shaw, Rt. Rev. J. W., D.D., Texas.
Sheedy, Rev. Morgan M., Pennsylvania.
Sheehan, Rev Francis J., Pennsylvania.
Sheehan, Thomas J., Pennsylvania.
Sherman, P. Tecumseh, New York.
Shields, Jos. J., Pennsylvania.
Shields, Miss Marie Knight, Pennsylvania.
Shields, Wm. I., Pennsylvania.
Short, John J., Pennsylvania.
Sinnott, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jas. P., Pennsylvania.
Skelly, John F., Pennsylvania.
Smith, Miss Helen Grace, Pennsylvania.
Smith, J. Stanley, Pennsylvania.
Smith, Thos. Kilby, Pennsylvania.
Speckman, John W., Pennsylvania.
Spellissy, Jos. M., M.D., Pennsylvania.
Spellissy, P. Henry, Pennsylvania.
Stedem, F. W. E., Pennsylvania.
Stommel, Rev. Henry, Pennsylvania.
Strecker, Dr. Albert W., Pennsylvania.
Strong, Wm. W., Pennsylvania.
Stuckle, Adolph, Pennsylvania.
Sullivan, D., Texas.
Sullivan, John J., Pennsylvania.

Supple, Rev. Jas. N., Massachusetts.
Suttner, Dr. C. N., Washington.
Sweeney, Rev. Joseph V., Pennsylvania.
Tack, Miss Adele G., Pennsylvania.
Tack, Theodore A., Pennsylvania.
Thompson, Rev. Robert J., Pennsylvania.
Thouron, Henry J., Pennsylvania.
Thouron, Nicholas, Pennsylvania.
Tiers, Joseph, Pennsylvania.
Tilghman, Mrs. Richard, Pennsylvania.
Timmins, Rev. James, Pennsylvania.
Toomey, John A., Pennsylvania.
Turner, Rt. Rev. Mgr. James P., Pennsylvania.
Unz, Mrs. Henry H., Pennsylvania.
Vetterlein, Herman G., Pennsylvania.
Vetterlein, Mrs. Herman G., Pennsylvania.
Voss, Herman, Pennsylvania.
Wade, Daniel, Pennsylvania.
Wade, Mrs. John A., Pennsylvania.
Wall, John P., New Jersey.
Walsh, James E., Pennsylvania.
Walsh, Rev. John F. X., Pennsylvania.
Walsh, Rev. John J., Pennsylvania.
Walsh, Joseph, M.D., Pennsylvania.
Walsh, Patrick A., Pennsylvania.
Walsh, Mrs. Philip J., Pennsylvania.
Wayland, Miss E. C., Pennsylvania.
Weber, Joseph A., Pennsylvania.
Welty, Frederic, Pennsylvania.
Werder, X. O., M.D., Pennsylvania.
Werner, Rev. Edward Geo., Pennsylvania.
West Phila. Council K. of C., Pennsylvania.
Willcox, James M., Pennsylvania.
Willcox, Joseph, Pennsylvania.
Williams, Rev. James M., Pennsylvania.
Wynne, Rev. John J., S.J., New York.
Wolf, Rt. Rev. Innocent, O.S.B., Kansas.
Zeller, Rev. A. J., Pennsylvania.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.

The name of this organization shall be "THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA."

ARTICLE II.

The object of this Society shall be the preservation and publication of Catholic American historical books and documents, the investigation of Catholic American History, the development of interest in Catholic historical research and the collection and preservation of a library in connection therewith.

ARTICLE III.

The classification of membership in this Society shall be provided for by its By-laws, and such By-laws shall also provide as to the qualifications of members.

ARTICLE IV.

The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, Vice-President, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, at least three Managers or Directors, and such other officers as the said Society may by its By-laws provide for; and all of said officers shall be chosen or elected and all vacancies in office be filled in such a way or manner and at such time or times as the By-laws of said Society shall direct.

ARTICLE V.

The duties of the several officers of the Society shall be such as are usually incidental to the several offices, and the By-laws of the Society shall prescribe the terms or length of time for which the officers chosen shall hold their respective offices.

ARTICLE VI.

The place where the business of said Society is to be transacted is in the City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania.

ARTICLE VII.

The said Society shall have authority to take, hold and enjoy both real and personal property and to convey the same in such way and manner and to such amount as is now authorized by law or as may hereafter at any time be authorized by law.

ARTICLE VIII.

The By-laws of said Society shall be made and adopted and when necessary be altered, changed or amended by the Board of Managers or Directors of said Society.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I.

MEMBERS AND MEMBERSHIP.

Section 1. The Society shall consist of active and honorary members.

Sec. 2. Any person in sympathy with the work and the aims of the Society shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. Any person distinguished in historical investigation or who has conferred benefit on the Society shall be eligible to honorary membership.

Sec. 4. All members shall be elected by the Board. Active members must receive the votes of two-thirds of those present, and honorary members must receive a unanimous vote.

Sec. 5. Membership shall date from the day of election.

Sec. 6. The annual dues of active members shall be five dollars (\$5.00) payable in advance.

Any active member who pays the sum of fifty dollars (\$50.00) into the treasury at one time for the purpose of becoming a life member shall be enrolled as such.

Sec. 7. Members whose dues remain unpaid for two years shall be dropped from the roll, but may be re-instated upon payment of all arrearages.

Sec. 8. Every member shall, upon the payment of the first year's dues, receive a certificate of membership signed by the President and Secretary of the Society and impressed with the seal of the Society.

Honorary members shall receive a certificate duly signed immediately after election.

ARTICLE II.

OFFICERS AND THEIR DUTIES.

Section 1. The officers of the Society shall consist of a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary and a Treasurer, all of whom shall be ex-officio members of the Board of Managers; and ten additional Managers, five of whom shall be such by virtue of their election at the annual meeting of the Society and the remaining five by virtue of being the Chairmen of the five Standing Committees hereinafter provided for. They shall hold their offices for one year, or until their successors are elected.

Sec. 2. The President and Vice-President shall perform the duties usual to such offices.

Sec. 3. The Recording Secretary shall keep an accurate record of the proceedings of the meetings of the Society and of its Board. He shall transcribe the minutes into a book kept for that purpose. He shall have charge of all papers belonging to the Society other than those appertaining to the Treasurer or to the Publication Committee, or than those otherwise provided for. He shall notify the Society of the death of any member and enter the fact upon the minutes. He shall send to each member

due notice of the meetings of the Society, and to the officers, managers and chairmen of standing committees due notice of the meetings of the Board. He shall notify all officers, managers and members of standing committees of their election or appointment. He shall notify the chairman of every special committee of his appointment, of the names of his associates on the committee, and of the resolution under which the committee was appointed. He shall notify all newly-elected members of their election. He shall prepare and send out bills and collect dues. He shall prepare and send out certificates of membership to all newly-elected members who have paid their first year's dues. He shall furnish all qualified members with the current numbers of the Society's Records, and with such other of the Society's publications as members may be entitled to. He shall hand over all moneys to the Treasurer, and take a receipt for the same. He shall prepare before each annual meeting a list of members not entitled to vote by reason of arrearages of dues. He shall perform such other duties as the Board may direct.

Sec. 4. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society.

Sec. 5. The Treasurer shall have charge of all moneys and securities of the Society, and shall give such bonds as the management may direct. He shall disburse money only upon written warrants duly authorized by the Board.

Sec. 5. The President shall sign no orders upon the treasury unless the bills for which they are drawn have been endorsed as correct by the officer or chairman of the committee by whom the money was spent, and by the chairman of the Committee on Finance.

Sec. 7. The President shall be ex-officio a member of all committees of the Society and of the Board.

ARTICLE III.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Section 1. The standing committees of the Society shall be as follows: 1st, Committee on Library and Cabinet, consisting of five members; 2d, Committee on Historical Research, consisting of nine members; 3d, Committee on Finance, consisting of three members; 4th, Committee on Publication, consisting of three members; 5th, Committee on Hall, consisting of five members.

Sec. 2. The above committees shall be appointed by the President not later than the first of January of each year. They shall organize and elect their respective chairmen within one week of their appointment.

Sec. 3. All standing committees shall report in writing at the regular meetings of the Board of Managers.

ARTICLE IV.

BOARD OF MANAGERS.

Section 1. The Board of Managers of the Society shall consist of the President, the Vice-President, the Recording Secretary, the Corres-

ponding Secretary, the Treasurer, the chairmen of the five standing committees and the five elected Managers.

Sec. 2. Nominations for officers and Managers must be made to the Board of Managers in writing at least one month before the annual meeting of the Society, and must have the names of five members in good standing attached to them. Elections of Officers and Managers shall be held at the annual meeting of the Society in December.

Sec. 3. Elections shall be by ballot.

Sec. 4. All members in good standing shall be entitled to vote.

Sec. 5. All vacancies in the Board of Managers other than those occurring in the chairmen of the standing committees shall be filled by the Board for the unexpired term.

Sec. 6. The Board shall have general supervision and management of the affairs of the Society, and shall report to the Society at its annual meeting.

Sec. 7. The Board may at any time call a special meeting of the Society.

Sec. 8. The Board shall define the duties of the librarian and the assistant librarians.

ARTICLE V.

MEETINGS AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Section 1. The Society shall hold meetings on the third Tuesday of December in each year.

Sec. 2. Twenty members shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 3. The Board of Managers shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday of every month.

Sec. 4. The order of business of the meeting of the Society shall be as follows:

1. Reading of the Minutes.
2. Reports of the Board, of officers and of committees.
3. Nomination of members.
4. Election of members.
5. Unfinished business.
6. New business.
7. Adjournment.

Sec. 5. Public meetings of the Society shall be such special meetings as shall have been called for the reading of papers on historical subjects or in the interest of the Society. Public meetings shall be determined upon by the Board of Managers when asked for by some standing committee, which committee shall be held responsible for the successful management of such meeting.

Sec. 6. At the annual meeting of the Society the polls shall be kept open at least one hour, and the first order of business shall be the opening of the polls. For the opening of the polls a quorum shall not be necessary.

Sec. 7. The presiding officer shall appoint a judge and two tellers to conduct the election, who shall take a tally list of the members voting.

ARTICLE VI.

COMMITTEE ON LIBRARY AND CABINET.

Section 1. The Committee on Library and Cabinet shall have charge of the library and cabinet.

Sec. 2. This committee shall appoint a librarian-in-chief, and such assistant librarians as may be necessary, said appointments to be subject to the approval of the Board.

Sec. 3. This committee shall draft such rules and regulations for the government and management of the library and cabinet as may be deemed proper.

ARTICLE VII.

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

Section 1. The Committee on Historical Research is especially charged with the duty of gathering materials of all kinds appertaining to American Catholic history, not already in print, or whatever else may be of historical interest to the Society.

Sec. 2. It shall especially endeavor (a) to procure the writing of historical papers or essays on American Catholic Church topics; (b) to have copies made of old mission and parish registers and records of epitaphs and memorials, inscriptions and monuments; (c) to secure the memoirs and reminiscences of prominent clergymen and laymen, and the genealogies and obituaries of noteworthy persons associated with church matters; (d) to translate historical articles from foreign languages; (e) in brief, to do all other work that properly appertains to the domain of historical research.

Sec. 3. To this committee shall be referred all papers that may be submitted to the Society for publication or preservation.

Sec. 4. This committee shall have power to pass upon all questions relative to such papers, as, for instance, whether they shall be read before a public meeting, shall be published in the Society's Records, or placed in the Society's archives.

Sec. 5. All papers, documents, etc., which shall come into the hands of this committee shall immediately after the committee has performed its duty in regard to them, be placed in the archives of the Society.

Sec. 6. This committee shall have power to appoint auxiliary committees of the Society in any part of the world. These auxiliary committees may comprise all the members of the Society in any given town, city, state, or country, and shall have power to govern themselves. They may select their own officers, except the chairman, who shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research.

Sec. 7. Auxiliary committees shall report in writing to the Committee on Historical Research at least twice a year, and shall be given credit in the committee's reports to the Society and in the Society's publications for all work done and for papers furnished or secured.

ARTICLE VIII.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

Section 1. Annually after the stated meeting of the Board of Managers in December, the Committee on Finance shall audit the accounts of the officers and the standing committees of the last preceding year and report thereon at the stated meeting of the Society.

Sec. 2. At the January meeting of the Board the incoming officers and standing committees shall present estimates for the expenses of their respective offices and committees during the ensuing year, and said estimates shall be referred to the Committee on Finance, which shall report on the same at the next ensuing meeting of the Board.

Sec. 3. All bills or resolutions carrying with them an appropriation or expenditure of money shall first be referred for examination to the Committee on Finance.

ARTICLE IX.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of this committee to print and publish such papers, records, genealogies and other matter, as may be furnished to it by the Committee on Historical Research, or as it may be ordered to publish by the Board of Managers.

Sec. 2. The Committee on Historical Research shall be furnished by the Committee on Publication with proofs of all matter supplied by it, which proofs must be returned promptly to the printer. No alterations shall be made in papers already in type unless the author guarantees payment for the same.

ARTICLE X.

COMMITTEE ON HALL.

Section 1. The Committee on Hall shall have charge of the hall of the Society and of all property therein not otherwise provided for, subject to such instructions as the Board of Managers may give.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of this Committee to make and look after all real estate investments of the Society.

Sec. 3. This committee shall have the power to grant the use of the hall for literary, scientific, humane or philanthropic purposes, upon such conditions as the committee may deem proper; provided, however, that such grant shall not interfere with the convenience of the Society or imperil its property.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of this committee to keep all perishable property of the Society properly insured.

Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of this committee to keep all real estate and movable property of the Society in repair; and to this end it shall be authorized to employ such persons as may be deemed necessary, with the approval of the Board of Managers.

ARTICLE XI.

SPECIAL FUNDS.

Section 1. There shall be created the following special funds: 1st, the Building Fund; 2d, the Publication Fund; 3d, the Library Fund; 4th, the Life Membership Fund.

Sec. 2. The first of these funds shall be under the management of the Committee on Hall, and the second, third and fourth shall be under the management of the Committee on Finance.

Sec. 3. Into the first, second and third of these funds such moneys shall enter as shall be procured by the committee having charge of them, or as shall be paid into them from time to time by the Board of Managers upon the recommendation of the Committee on Finance, or as shall be donated or bequeathed for that purpose. The Life Membership Fund shall be made up of the dues of the life members.

Sec. 4. The interest, and as much of the principal as may be necessary, of the Building Fund shall be used by the committee having charge of it to secure or improve a hall for the Society. The Library Fund, the Publication Fund and the Life Membership Fund shall be carefully invested by the Committee on Finance, under the supervision of the Board of Managers; and the interest only of them shall be used, except when otherwise ordered by the Board. The interest of the Library Fund shall be devoted to the use of the library; the interest of the Publication Fund shall be used for publishing the Society's Records; and the interest of the Life Membership Fund shall be semi-annually paid into the treasury of the Society.

ARTICLE XII.

USE OF LIBRARY.

Section 1. All respectable and well-behaved persons, whether members of the Society or not, shall be permitted to examine and use the books, manuscripts, pamphlets and collections belonging to the Society, under such necessary regulations in respect to safety and convenience as the Board of Managers shall establish.

ARTICLE XIII.

AMENDMENTS OF BY-LAWS.

Section 1. Any proposed amendment of the By-laws of the Society shall be submitted to the Board of Managers in writing at a stated meeting of the Board, and shall not be acted upon until a subsequent meeting. Before such proposed amendment is voted upon, notice thereof in writing shall have been given to each member of the Board, and the affirmative votes of a majority of the entire Board shall be necessary for its adoption.

Sec. 2. By the affirmative votes of a majority of the entire Board of Managers, any By-law may be suspended for a period not exceeding sixty days.

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MEMBERS of the American Catholic Historical Society, and readers of the RECORDS of the Society, will be glad to know that complete files of the Quarterly are still to be had.

Although only a few such complete sets of back numbers are left, we wish to place them where they will do the good they were intended to do, by preserving rare documents of Catholic American History and by developing interest in Catholic historical research.

The Society offers these twenty-three (23) volumes, therefore, at the original published price of \$2.00 a volume, rather than keep them for a fancy price later on. As only a small edition of these volumes was printed and no plates were made of them, the volumes are becoming very rare and their value accordingly greater and greater.

Librarians especially will be interested in this announcement.

THE INTEREST OF EVERY ASSOCIATE of the Society is bespoken in favor of an increase of membership and of consequent greater efficiency of our organization.

The practical thing to do is to invite to membership those you believe should join the Society, or give their names to the officers. The latter will see that an invitation is sent.

"The object of the Society shall be the preservation and publication of Catholic American historical books and documents, the investigation of Catholic American History, the development of interest in Catholic historical research and the collection and preservation of a library in connection therewith."—CONSTITUTION, Article II.

"The annual dues of active members shall be five dollars (\$5.00), payable in advance."

"Any active member who pays the sum of fifty dollars (\$50.00) into the treasury at one time for the purpose of becoming a life member shall be enrolled as such."—BY-LAWS, Sec. 6.



Records
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RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. XXIII

JUNE, 1913

No. 2

BOHEMIA

MISSION OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, CECIL COUNTY, MARYLAND

THE Church of St. Francis Xavier, Bohemia Manor, near Warwick, Cecil County, Maryland, was destroyed by fire on the morning of New Year's Day, 1912; the Bishop of Wilmington promptly decided that this cradle of Catholicity in his Diocese should not cease to exist, although the congregation had been dwindling away in recent years; the work of reconstruction was pushed forward rapidly by the energetic pastor, Rev. Charles A. Crowley, and St. Francis Xavier's, arisen from its ashes, perpetuates the memory of the oldest Catholic Church and Mission of the Eastern Shore. It was dedicated by Rt. Rev. J. J. Monaghan, Bishop of Wilmington, on October 24, 1912; the sermon, appropriate to so historical an occasion, was preached by Rev. Charles W. Lyons, S. J., rector of St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia. The reconstructed church occupies the site of the one that was destroyed; the foundations and greater part of the walls remained intact; and the general exterior outline of the ancient church has been preserved.

Bohemia was the earliest permanent Catholic foundation in the English Colonies outside of the Jesuit establishments in lower Maryland, in Charles and St. Mary's counties; it antedated the introduction of the Faith into the Province of Pennsylvania, and it is not unlikely that one of the priests residing at Bohemia occasionally visited the scattered Catholics of Chester County before Father Greaton built old St. Joseph's, Philadelphia, in 1733; it is the oldest, and for many years was the only, Mission on the Eastern Shore in the present Diocese of Wilmington. Situated in a quiet nook of a region devoted to agriculture, its history can offer few stirring episodes; but even the simple annals of a place, that has been for more than two centuries a center of Catholic life and activity, may have an interest of their own, and are worthy of preservation in the RECORDS of the American Catholic Historical Society.

Bohemia Manor was the immense tract of land in Cecil County, Maryland, that was granted to Augustine Herman; but, the name *Bohemia* was also locally and generally applied to the Catholic Church and residence of the Jesuit Fathers, and their property was known as *Bohemia Manor*. The true title of the church is St. Francis Xavier, and the original tract of land was named *St. Xaverius*. It is situated near the head of Little Bohemia creek, at a short distance from the village of Warwick, in Cecil County; the nearest station on the Peninsular Railroad is Middletown, Delaware. The spot is very secluded and is surrounded by well-cultivated farms which were the property of the Mission.

Nearly all of the early missions of the Society in Maryland were in retired situations—St. Inigoes, Newtown, St. Thomas', White Marsh, Deer Creek, Bohemia, and St. Joseph's, in Talbot County. It has been asked: Why were such locations selected originally? And why were

they retained for years, to the great inconvenience of the priest in the performance of his duties? These rural sites were chosen because there were no towns, no large centers of population at the time when these missions were founded; probably the desire to escape observation had some influence in the matter, as, at any time, intolerance might become vigilant, and the priest might be harassed by the application of the penal statutes; furthermore, the missionary had to make provision for his own support, as the people contributed nothing, and a farm contiguous to the church having been acquired, the uncertainty and difficulties of removal, even to a more favorable and central site, retained him at his home.

Bohemia, two hundred and ten years ago, offered inducements which no doubt influenced Father Mansell to select it as a center of missionary enterprise. Bohemia Landing, which was not far from where the church was built, was then an important trading post, where supplies direct from Europe could be received and tobacco shipped in return, and the *Delaware Path*, or *Highway*, was an artery of traffic between the two bays; in fact, as the old geographies used to say in praising the site of a town, Bohemia "was accessible both by land and water." Besides, as Father Moseley said, speaking of it at a later date, "It is nigh Philadelphia, which is a vast advantage."

The Mission was founded by Father Thomas Mansell, S. J. He was born in 1669, in Oxfordshire, England; studied at St. Omer's College; entered the Society in 1686; after ordination he was sent to the Maryland Mission, arriving in 1700. He had probably been at Bohemia, studying the situation, before 1704, which date is usually assigned for the foundation of the Mission, as it was the year in which Father Mansell took up his residence at St. Xaverius, and began the acquisition of the

Mission property. St. Xaverius was granted to him as vacant land by patent, bearing date July 10, 1706. Part of this tract had been formerly surveyed by a warrant granted in 1680 to Mary Ann O'Daniel and Margaret, her sister, by the name of *Morris O'Daniel's Rest*; but this survey was never recorded, nor any grant issued thereon to the said sisters. The title to this tract became vested in Father Mansell; perhaps the resurvey was made as a matter of prudence, in view of the Protestant ascendancy, and the laws that were threatened against landed property held by the Jesuit Fathers. Other tracts of land were subsequently added, by purchase, from Mr. James Heath, the founder of the town of Warwick, Cecil County, an extensive landholder and a sterling Catholic. He was of the family of Nicholas Heath, the last Catholic Archbishop of York, who for refusing to apostatize ended his days in prison under Queen Elizabeth. Some two miles from Warwick, though on the Delaware side of Mason and Dixon's Line, there is a marble slab which marks his last resting place, with this inscription:

Here Lyes the Body of Mr. James Heath, who was born at
Warwick, on the 27th of July, 1658, and died on the
10th of November, 1731, in the seventy-
fourth year of his age.
Requiescat in Pace.

The Heath family is extinct in Cecil County. Claims have been made by the descendants of James Heath that he built the church, or, at least, gave the land on which it was built—that he was a liberal benefactor to the Mission, etc. So far as the records show, all the transactions between Father Mansell and Mr. Heath were of a purely business character; each addition to the property was by purchase. James Paul Heath, his son, left by will

“£10 to the Priest at Bohemia,” and gave directions that *his* son should be brought up in the Catholic faith and educated at St. Omer’s; but he became a fallen Catholic and caused trouble to Father Manners, Superior of Bohemia.

A portion of the tract called Worsell Manor, bought from Mr. Heath by Father Mansell, had belonged to Col. Peter Sayer, who, by his will, had left “one-third of his estate to the Benedictine Nuns and English Benedictine Monks at Paris, and to English Friars.” He also made bequests to all the priests in the province. His widow, Frances Sayer, orders in her will “that there be a Chappell built of lime and brick, 30 × 20 ft., over the burial place of her husband,” and leaves £10 sterling to each of five priests named in the will.

Amongst the Catholics who depended for spiritual ministrations upon Bohemia, at the time of Father Mansell’s arrival, there were some Irish settlers who had been introduced into Cecil County by Col. George Talbot; he was a cousin of Lord Baltimore, and had received a grant of the Manor of Susquehanna, 32,000 acres, on condition of transporting 640 persons of British or Irish descent within twelve years. He brought in sixty persons before 1684; he changed the name of his manor from *Susquehanna* to *New Ireland*, with subdivisions, *New Connaught* and *New Munster*, and gave the name of the lordly *Shannon* to the chief stream of his territory, which lapped over into Pennsylvania. Colonel Talbot was selected for his position in order to be a thorn in the side of William Penn, who was charged with encroaching upon the proprietary rights of Lord Baltimore; he was brave even to rashness, but no match for Penn in diplomacy. Before the time of Talbot’s contract for bringing in colonists had expired, he was in serious trouble for killing Rousby, one of the royal collectors of customs. He left

the province, followed the fortunes of King James, and joined the Irish Brigade in the service of France. Presumably the settlers whom he brought into Cecil County were Irish Catholics, and they formed a portion of the flock under the pastoral care of the Fathers at Bohemia.

It is to be noticed that in all the legal documents and business transactions of Father Mansell he is never mentioned as *Reverend*, or as a member of the Society of Jesus, but simply as *Thos. Mansell* or *Mr. Mansell*; this reticence of clerical title and character was a necessary precaution at that time. His name appears for the first time in the Catalogue of the Maryland Mission in 1700; in 1704 he is mentioned as stationed at Bohemia, where, in 1706, he obtained the Patent of St. Xavier's. The situation chosen by him for church and residence was a fine and commanding one; the tradition is that he lived where now is the kitchen of the residence—it was a log house, and part of it was used as a chapel. A frame chapel was erected later; the brick church and priest's house did not come until years after the founder's death, which occurred March 18, 1724. He seems to have lived alone at Bohemia until about 1712, when, on his appointment as Superior of the whole Maryland Mission, he went to reside at St. Inigoes. It is probable that Father Mansell died at the latter place; but the scanty records that we possess indicate that he was living at Bohemia with Father Thomas Hodgson, in 1722, and by his last will and testament, dated February 20, 1722-3, he bequeathed to Father Hodgson all his property on the Eastern Shore. Father Mansell, as was frequently the case with English Jesuits, was known also under another name—*alias* Harding. He was fifty-five years of age at the time of his death, thirty-eight of which had been spent in the Society. There is an ancient cross in the Museum of Georgetown College which is said to have been

brought to Bohemia by Father Mansell; it is of wrought iron, and as the historian of Cecil County says: "It certainly looks ancient enough to have been brought over by the Pilgrims who came in the Ark and Dove." It had been at Bohemia from time immemorial, and the tradition attached to it was that it had been brought to St. Mary's by the first settlers who came there from England. The cross is about five feet high, and, if another tradition have any foundation, it was hammered from horse-shoes contributed by the first settlers of Maryland. It was well calculated to withstand the wear and tear of the elements to which it was exposed for two centuries and a half, until it became sheltered within the Archives room of Georgetown.

Father Thomas Hodgson, or Hudson, a native of Yorkshire, lived at Bohemia either as companion of Father Mansell, or alone, from 1712 until his death, December 18, 1726. His grave would be conspicuous as the oldest in the cemetery if there were any monument to mark the graves of the priests who are buried there. A list of them will be given later on. They were laid to rest under or near the altar inside the church, or just outside the walls, in a small plot of ground, unmarked by any tombstone, but enclosed by a boxwood hedge remarkable for size.

The immediate successor of Father Hodgson is not known with certainty, and it is difficult to fill up the gap between his death and the coming of Father Pulton, 1726-1742. He bequeathed the property to Father John Bennett, and he in turn conveyed it to Father Peter Attwood, by deed bearing date April 9, 1728. Father Bennett was living as domestic chaplain with Mrs. Carroll, at Annapolis, in 1724, and again in 1728. His name disappears from the list of Maryland missionaries, in 1729, when he returned to England, where he died at High-

field, near Wigan, in 1751. He was probably stationed for a short time at Bohemia. Father Peter Atwood was Superior of the Maryland Mission at the time of his death, in 1734; he resided at Newtown, St. Mary County, whilst he was head of the mission. He was a careful business manager, and has left important records concerning the titles to the Jesuit estates, their boundaries, transmission, etc., until his time. He appears as a principal in regard to some transactions concerning the lands of Bohemia, in 1731 and 1732, but he is described as "of St. Mary's County." A neighbor, Mr. Joseph George, having purchased Middle Neck Manor, laid claims to portions of St. Xaverius. On this matter Father Attwood writes: "To prevent a vexatious lawsuit, and the expenses, after long debates, I agreed to give him £35 cr't for a Deed of Release, to all the right or claim he might have to any or all the land I hold between the two branches of St. Augustin's Creek, and accordingly had the said deed executed and acknowledged before Col. Fendal, one of the Provincial Justices, on the 24th of July, 1731, and sent it over to be recorded in Cecil County, where the land lies. P. Attwood."

Father Attwood was the son of George Attwood, of Beverie, Worcestershire, who married Winifred Petre; a portrait of Lady Attwood, who became the wife of Mr. Digges, of Warburton Manor, Prince George County, Maryland, is in the possession of Dr. Morgan, of Washington. Father Attwood probably lived for a time at Bohemia. In March, 1714, he came to the highest branch of the Elk River, and for three days took the meridian altitude of the sun, to determine the latitude and fix the boundary of Maryland and Pennsylvania before Mason and Dixon. He added considerably to the landed property of the mission. The catalogues, or lists, of the Maryland mission give the names of the priests in

the colony year by year, but they do not, in general, designate the exact place where they resided. Father James Quin, one of the few Jesuits with an Irish name during Colonial times, came to America in 1732. He is mentioned several times with *Queen Anne* attached to his name. No doubt he attended the stations in Queen Anne County, but had his headquarters at Bohemia. For many years the fathers from Bohemia traveled down the Eastern Shore on long missionary excursions, sixty miles or more, even as far as Dorchester or Somerset. Father Quin died in 1745 from a fall in getting out of a ferry boat at Choptank River, dragged by his horse.

Father Thomas Pulton, who came to America in 1738, was certainly at Bohemia in 1742 and for several succeeding years; he died there January 23, 1749. It was whilst he was pastor that the school or academy was begun, in 1745 or 1746. This academy lasted only a short time; for the laws against Catholic education and Catholic educators were so stringent during the greater part of the Maryland Colonial period that it was only at intervals, for brief spaces of time, and by stealth, that the Jesuits, essentially a teaching order, and always most solicitous for the education of youth, were able to conduct a school. The historians and chroniclers of Georgetown College, and writers on Catholic education in the United States, are wont to refer to this academy of Bohemia as the predecessor of Georgetown College, or the "germ" from which was evolved the oldest academic institution, under Catholic direction, for young men, in the United States. The connection between the Bohemia school and the "Academy on the Patowmack" is that they were projected and conducted under Jesuit auspices; and that John Carroll, the *Founder* of Georgetown, was numbered amongst the pupils of Bohemia; he is the link, moral and personal, between Georgetown and the earlier school.

Father Thomas Pulton established the school at Bohemia. The first mention of a Catholic academy that we find in the annals of Maryland is in a letter that Father Ferdinando Pulton, more than a century earlier, a few years after the settlement of St. Mary's, wrote to the General of the Society about the prospects of founding a college in the infant colony; and the General answered in 1640: "The hope held out of a college I am happy to entertain, and when it shall have matured I will not be backward in extending my approval." Had his hope been realized the American college of the Jesuits would have vied with the oldest in the land for prestige of antiquity; but the times were not favorable. A Catholic collegiate or academic foundation was impossible under the laws of Maryland, which were expressly designed to prohibit and prevent it. Under such prohibitions of education at home the Catholic youth of the colony were forced to go to foreign lands for instruction in letters. Naturally St. Omer's was the college that they preferred, as it was conducted by English Jesuits, who furnished also the missionaries for the colony.

The Academy at Bohemia was intended to afford a resource for the education of sons of the Catholic colonists, at least to the extent of acquiring the rudiments of knowledge before going beyond the seas. The expense, trouble and long expatriation were serious obstacles. A young boy leaving home to enter college could not expect to return until his studies were completed, after an absence prolonged to ten and fifteen years, or more; as instances, John Carroll, Charles Carroll and Robert Brent left America in 1747; Charles Carroll returned in 1765, and John Carroll remained in Europe until 1774; Leonard Neale was abroad from 1758 to 1783. Members of such well-known Maryland families as Sewall, Brooke, Mattingly, Thompson, Hoskins, Semmes and Cole joined

the English Province S. J., and never returned to their native land.

The history of this classical academy has come down to us only in some scanty details and scraps of records; even the duration of its existence cannot be determined with certainty. It was probably discontinued shortly after the death of Father Pulton, which would make a decade its extreme span of life—those are certainly in error who surmise that it continued until the American Revolution, or even later. Every vestige of the school-house disappeared years ago; but it is well known that it stood in the lawn, a few feet south of the manse, and that the bricks of which its walls were composed were used in the dwelling house that was built about 1825.

A fragment of an old account book furnishes nearly all that we know directly concerning the school at Bohemia:

- 1745-6. Peter Lopez to your son's board. Feb. 17.
 " May 20. Daniel Carroll to your son's board.
 " June 24. Edward Neale, to board of your two sons,
 £43-16-3.
 1748. April 22. Daniel Carroll, 2nd time, son John came
 here.
 Jackey Carroll went to Marlborough, July 8.
 August 5. Robert Brent.
 August 20. Bennett Neale, Archibald Richard,
 June 24. Ben. Neale, Ed. Neale, John Carroll, James
 Heath went first to school.

N. B. All those that learn Latin at 40 currency pound.
 The rest at 30 £ as by agreement this day.

"Jackey Carroll" became the first Bishop of Baltimore. His school-boy chair was preserved for many years at the residence; it was there in 1843—later researches have failed to identify this memento. It is said that at one time there were as many as twenty boys boarding at the school;

there is some reason for believing that amongst them was Charles Carroll, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, but convincing proof of this is wanting.

Father Thomas Pulton, who founded and fostered the Bohemia Academy, had some measure of success in realizing the hope of Father Ferdinando Pulton, as expressed to the General of the Society in the earliest days of the colony. They were of the same family, Poulton or Pulton, of Desborough, County Northampton (v. Foley: Records of the English Province, S. J., vol. I), which gave at least thirteen members to the English Province, of whom three came to America and ended their days on the Maryland Mission. Father Ferdinando was accidentally shot whilst crossing St. Mary's River. On the ancient list which chronicles this death some ill-informed commentator makes a marginal note that "he was a Spaniard, as his name and the names of his servants evidently show." If such a conclusion, from name to nationality, were valid, then every Aloysius, Patrick or Benjamin should be an Italian, Irishman or Jew. The Poultons were an old English family, staunch Catholics, who suffered severely for the faith; the fines imposed on them for non-attendance at Protestant services would have beggared the richest landholders in England. In the Desborough church, the church of the ancestors of Father Thomas Poulton of Bohemia, there stood a monument which bore the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of the honorable family of the Poultons, who for fourteen generations were the lords of this town of Desburgh or Desborough. Descended from princely, most noble, illustrious and holy progenitors of this kingdom."

The clergy of the Established Church in Maryland were in general inert, easy-going men, not overwhelmed

with labors of the ministry, and enjoying fair emoluments from the benefices which they held. But the Rev. Hugh Jones, who was rector of St. Stephen's, on Sassafras Neck, in which parish Bohemia was included, was a belligerent churchman, bitterly hostile to the Jesuits, and the success of the school roused him to action. As early as 1739 he had complained to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: "The Jesuits in my parish seem to combine our ruin by propagation of schism, popery and apostasy in this neighborhood," and he asks for a contribution of books "to prevent the danger of this impending tempest." The Jesuits were legally his parishioners, and, although deriving no benefit from his services, they contributed to his support forty pounds of tobacco per poll each year, as provided for by law. The prosperity of the school did not make Mr. Jones more charitable. In 1745 he prepared a sermon, which he published in the *Maryland Gazette*, at Annapolis, as a "Protest against Popery." A reply to this was prepared by one of the Jesuits. Of course no printer would have dared to issue it from the press, and, accordingly, it was circulated in manuscript. Jones heard of this paper, and probably heard also that it was a telling rejoinder. He relieved his aggrieved feelings by inserting the following advertisement in Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 13-20, 1746:

To the Jesuits established in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Learned Sirs: Imagining myself to be principally concerned in the applauded answer to my "Protest against Popery," that has been handed about by some of you in these parts, I have used all means in my power to procure one; in order for which I applied to the gentleman on whom it is fathered, but he having in a very handsome manner disowned it, I presume I may be excused from making this my public request, that some one of you would vouchsafe to transmit me one of the

books, that I may rejoin to any sophistical fallacies or sarcastical falsehoods (those usual tropes of St. Omer) that I hear this smart performance (as your friends call it) abounds with; assuring you that any assertions of mine, that it truly demonstrates to be erroneous, shall readily be recanted. Your compliance with my request will confer a great favor on,

Learned Gentlemen, Your humble servant,

H. JONES.

BOHEMIA, *Sept. 15, 1746.*

Mr. Johnson, *History of Cecil County*, p. 437, says: "Rev. Hugh Jones, who was rector of North Sassafraus Parish for many years, there is reason to believe, was both aristocratic and haughty . . . he died possessed of so much of this world's goods that, to put it as charitably as possible, he must have occupied most of his time in accumulating them." He died in 1760 at the age of ninety. It was probably at his instigation that the people of Cecil County were so persistent, during several years after 1750, in their efforts to have the laws put into execution "Against the Growth of Popery." The effect of this legislation would have been a consummation devoutly wished by Mr. Jones—the ostracism of the Jesuits and the sequestration of the church lands of Bohemia. Over and over again the Assembly tried to adopt the Penal Code, *11 & 12 William and Mary*, either by express legislation or by assuming—an assumption stultifying in itself and destructive of their liberties and self-government—that all the laws of England extended to the colonies. For four successive years from 1751, anti-Catholic proscriptive measures were introduced and passed in the Lower House. In November, 1754, the citizens of Prince George's instructed their delegates to urge a law "to dispossess the Jesuits of those landed estates which, under them, became formidable to his Majesty's good Protestant subjects of this province; to

exclude Papists from places of trust and profit, and to prevent them from sending their children to foreign Popish seminaries for education, whereby the minds of youth are corrupted and alienated from his Majesty's person and government." A commission was created to inquire into the affairs of the Jesuits in the colony, and also to ascertain by what tenure they hold their land. Zealous churchmen were designated as members of the Commission, one of them being Nicholas Hyland, a resident of North Elk Parish, near Bohemia. They were also enjoined to tender the oaths of allegiance, abhorrence and abjuration "to the members of the Society." In July, 1755, the Lower House urged the Governor "to issue his proclamation commanding all magistrates and other officers duly to execute the penal statutes against Roman Catholics within this province." The Protestants of Cecil County were foremost in their frantic petitions for proscriptive legislation. One would imagine that there was no great danger threatening them from the presence of two or three clergymen living quietly at Bohemia; yet, their neighbors, the Protestants of Sassafras Neck, Middle Neck and Bohemia Manor, appealed to the Legislature at the session of 1756, praying that stringent measures might be taken against the Jesuits; they were denounced as traitors if they tampered with any of his Majesty's subjects. The importation of Irish Papists, *via* Delaware, was prohibited under a penalty of £20 each.

Although many of these intolerant measures were blocked by the Governor's action, or failed to pass in the Upper House, yet their constant introduction, the iniquitous double tax, the dread of more intolerable burdens, rendered the situation of Maryland Catholics unbearable, and a priest had always to dread the worst from the temper of the times and the uncertainty of the laws.

One instance will help to show how malice and bigotry could annoy and endanger a priest in the exercise of his ministry, though performed by stealth and privately. In 1756 Father James Beadnell journeyed down from Bohemia to visit the scattered Catholic of Talbot and Queen Anne. Two writs were issued for his arrest, and he was taken by the Sheriff of Queen Anne County and obliged to give bail for his appearance at the provincial court to be held at Annapolis on the 19th of October following, under the penalty of £1,500 forfeiture. The amount of bail demanded shows how serious was the misdemeanor with which he was charged. And what was his crime? Two indictments were exhibited against him; the first for celebrating Mass in private houses; the second for endeavoring to bring over a non-juror to the Catholic faith. His trial was put off until the assizes in Talbot County, where, on the 16th of April, 1757, he was tried and acquitted; from the first, as allowed to do so by an order issued by her Majesty, Queen Anne; from the other, as no sufficient evidence was brought against him.

Father John Kingdon was an assistant to Father Poulton, and his successor as Superior; he was at Bohemia from 1748 to 1750, perhaps later. He returned to England; but came back to America in 1759, and died at St. Thomas', Charles County, July 7, 1761.

Father Joseph Greateon, the well-known founder of St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, after laboring for twenty years in Pennsylvania, succeeded Father Kingdon. He probably came to Bohemia in 1750, and died there August 19, 1753, attended in his last moments by Father John Lewis.

Father John Lewis was twice Superior of Bohemia. Succeeding Father Greateon in 1753, he seems to have remained continuously until 1765. Those were the years in which the courage and virtues of one who held his

position were subject to peculiar trials. He was Superior of his brethren in Maryland, at the suppression of the Society in 1773, and afterwards by appointment of Bishop Challoner, on whom the American Mission depended, he exercised the office of Vicar General. As all the priests in Maryland and Pennsylvania were former members of the Society, and the successor of Bishop Challoner, the Vicar Apostolic of the London district, would have nothing to do with them during the War of the Revolution or afterwards, Father Lewis continued to act as Superior until the appointment of Rev. John Carroll as Prefect Apostolic.

Father Matthias Manners seems to have come to Bohemia on the departure of Father Lewis to White Marsh. His true name was *Sittensperger*. He was a native of the Diocese of Augsburg, and entered the Novitiate at Lansperg, in Germany, but through desire of devoting himself to missionary life in America he joined the English Province. Coming to America, he was in 1753 at Conewago, laboring among the German settlements of Pennsylvania. In 1764 he became Superior of Bohemia, and spent the rest of his life there. His death occurred June 15, 1775. He does not seem to have had any assistant. Father Mosley went to Bohemia in 1764, with the intention of taking charge of the outlying missions, whilst his permanent residence would be at the home place; but, in a few months, he was appointed to found the new mission of St. Joseph's, Talbot County; he lived alone on that arduous station until his death, June 3, 1787. The interesting "Letters of Father Joseph Mosley" were printed in RECORDS, Vol. XVII, nn. 2, 3. The foundation of St. Joseph's saved the priests at Bohemia from long and toilsome journeys down the Eastern Shore. Father Manners contributed £260 to pay for the land in Talbot, and Father Lewis gave eight negroes

from White Marsh to work the plantation. The priest at St. Joseph's had ten counties to attend to, as his mission included the present Diocese of Wilmington, except Newcastle County, Delaware, and Cecil and Kent in Maryland, which for some years yet to come constituted the mission of Bohemia. The fathers in the two places, though fifty miles apart, were neighbors. Father Mosley came up to care for Father Manners during his last illness in 1775, and afterwards, until the return of Father Lewis, tended to both the congregations; Father Mosley in turn, at his death, June 3, 1787, was attended in his last moments by Father Lewis, who was then for the second time pastor of Bohemia.

Father Manners was much annoyed, about 1773, by the conduct of a neighbor, Daniel Charles Heath, a grandson of James Heath, from whom a large share of the Bohemia lands had been purchased. He threatened suits of ejectment, alleging that the land for the support of the pastor had been a gift from his grandfather, and that such a transfer for Catholic purposes was illegal. It was contrary to English law, but American independence was soon to sweep away all such proscriptive legislation. This Heath is described by Father Mosley as "a fallen Catholic," who was very harsh in his treatment of indentured servants who were sold to him. By every principle of heredity, environment and education he should have remained steadfast in the faith. Father Manners wrote on this subject, December 13, 1773, to Father Lewis, asking for advice. He says: "One thing puts me to a stand, viz.: my being a foreigner, for if it should come to the trial of ejection I am afraid that this circumstance might be prejudicial to the cause, because I can hold no land." He also expresses the fear that letters to and from him might be intercepted, as "I was told that Mr. Heath has declared he would not for anything

I should discover this affair to you, or any of our Gentlemen on the Western Shore. Good reason then to think he is upon the watch." Another neighbor was threatening encroachments which would have taken away the greater part of the remaining land, and even the houses in which he lived. As the Society had been suppressed that year, these proceedings were prompted probably by the expectation that it would be easier to dispossess the priest as a private individual than as a member of a body that would make common cause with him. The lands are still held by Father Manners' successors. Mr. Heath lived and entertained sumptuously, and, as a consequence, his large property was frittered away.

Father Manners bought a farm in Mill Creek Hundred, Delaware, for the support of a church. Father Lewis, as early as 1772, had acquired property in the same neighborhood. It was ordered to be sold, reserving the chapel and burying-ground: ultimately it was taken over from the Corporation of the Roman Catholic Clergymen of Maryland, by Rev. Patrick Kenny, pastor of St. Mary's Church, Coffee Run. Consequently, the oldest Catholic establishment in Delaware was an offshoot of Bohemia.

Father John Lewis came back to Bohemia after the death of Father Manners. Leaving St. Inigoes, where he had been living since 1769, Father Lewis crossed the bay in a sailing vessel on his way to Bohemia; a small note book of his has this first entry: "1775, August 3. Got to Mr. Mosley's." This was St. Joseph's in Talbot County, from which Bohemia had, in the interim, been attended. The last entry of this book is: "June 7, 1776. Mr. John Carroll set off for Rock Creek." Father Carroll had come down from Philadelphia with Father Molyneux on the 5th; it was just after his return from the fruitless expedition with the commissioners to Can-

ada, and although these were stirring times in Philadelphia, and the Declaration of Independence was impending, the diary makes no allusion to any political event. It records letters received and answered of Fathers Molyneux, Walton, Matthews, De Ritter, Geisler, and Morris; and visits from his neighbors, Father Molyneux of St. Joseph's, Philadelphia, and Father Mosley of St. Joseph's, Talbot. Visits also from prominent Catholic laymen, probably on church business, as he was Superior of the Clergy. Mr. Willcox of Ivy Mills, Mr. Cottringer of Philadelphia, and Mr. Wheeler of Deer Creek were entertained by him during visits to Bohemia. Returning to Bohemia in 1775, Father Lewis remained there until his death, March 24, 1788. Rev. John Carroll, in a letter from Baltimore, movingly regrets the death of this apostolic man. Father Lewis was an Englishman; it is worthy of remembrance that, although the missionaries in Maryland, after the suppression of the Society in 1773, were no longer bound to remain where they had been placed by obedience, and the separation from their mother country was impending, not one of the native-born Englishmen amongst the ex-Jesuits abandoned his post. There were nine English Fathers, and, to a man, they died in harness on the trying field of the Maryland Mission. What a contrast with the conduct of the established clergy of Maryland and Virginia, who had enjoyed the loaves and fishes of patronage at the expense of the American people!

The life of a missionary on the Eastern Shore was hard if we consider the surroundings, the want of resources, and the long journeys necessitated by the scanty and scattered Catholic population. It is true that at the parent house of Bohemia, the priest had a chapel and a house of his own; but it was a modest dwelling and poorly furnished. Shortly before the death of Father

Lewis, the Rev. P. Smyth, a wrong-headed and querulous man, had come to America, and after a short stay he returned to Ireland, where he published a defamatory pamphlet reflecting upon Father John Carroll and the clergy of Maryland. Amongst other unfounded accusations he asserted that the priests on the Eastern Shore were living in the midst of opulence and luxury. Dr. Carroll justly said: "If curiosity should be excited by his misrepresentations to travel to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, it will find there but two clergymen. One of these lives on the confines of Maryland and State of Delaware (Bohemia), in a house not only inelegant, but ruinous, and scarcely affording shelter from the weather. The other (Rev. Joseph Mosley) occupies a cell such as the woman of Sunam prepared for the prophet Elisha (4 Book of Kings, c. 4), containing just space enough for a bed, a table, and a stool."

At the many *Stations* which the priest was obliged to visit, at regular intervals, or for sick calls, there was no chapel, and only the accommodations that an ordinary farmhouse could furnish. Some room was set apart, and here the family, and those who had been warned of the priest's coming, were present at the Holy Sacrifice, the sermon was read, and the children and servants instructed. There is a set of old manuscript sermons preserved at Woodstock College, extending back as far as 1726, and many of these discourses, besides bearing the date, give also the place of their delivery, which in the greater number of cases was some private residence. From these sermons, and from records of a later date, it appears that there were stations, or, at least, baptism was administered occasionally at Appoquinimick, Newcastle, Middletown, Georgetown, Taylor's Bridge, Smyrna, and in Sussex County, Del.; at Elkton, Queen Anne, Chesapeake City, Tully's Neck, Queenstown,

Kingston, Sassafras Neck, Sassafras Hill, Little Bohemia, Forest, Chestertown, Canal, Grove Point, Cecilton, Denton, Easton, Galena, Head of Elk, Railroad, Head of Bohemia, Head of Sassafras, Church Hill, and in other places situated in Dorchester, Caroline, and Kent Counties in Maryland. In the earlier days, most probably, stations were held at the home of the Willcox family, Concord, Pa., by the priests of Bohemia on their way to and from Philadelphia. The Archives Room of Georgetown College contains a large and varied collection of vestments, altar furniture, chalices, etc., that were used at these missionary stations.

Father Robert Molyneux, who had been for many years at St. Joseph's, Philadelphia, succeeded Father Lewis, and remained until July 1, 1790. He became President of Georgetown College, and first Superior of the restored Society in the United States. He was succeeded by Rev. Francis Beeston, who begins the house diary that has been preserved, with the entry: "1790, July 1. I, Francis Beeston, began to take care of Bohemia Plantation." Under date of July 15, he says: "Mr. Robt. Molyneux left Bohemia for Portobacco; I accompanied him as far as Mr. Bolton's, but did not meet with the latter, who had left home, about five weeks to go to Tangier Islands. As nothing had been heard of him, it was feared he had been taken sick on the road. I left Mr. Molyneux at Mr. Bolton's." They had driven from Bohemia to St. Joseph's, Talbot County, the residence of Father John Bolton; from there passage across the bay could be procured, thus saving the long trip by land around the head of the Chesapeake. The account book shows that £10 10s were furnished to Father Molyneux for his passage to Port Tobacco.

It was a great change of environment and occupation from Fourth and Walnut streets, Philadelphia, to the head

of Little Bohemia; from the refined society of a very refined city to association with simple farmers and rude negroes; from the methodical parochial duties of a city church to the varied life and labors of a country pastor, with the management of a large plantation and its dependent servants. Father Beeston must have felt this, when, on the day after his arrival, he makes this entry in the diary: "July 2. Last night the dogs killed a sheep and wounded three more; so, my overseer and myself shot six of the dogs, allowing for the future no more than one dog for each quarter."

The house diary, or *Memoranda* book, as it is inscribed in Father Beeston's handwriting, his account book and church registers are admirably kept, from the day of his arrival, July 1, 1790, till his departure. Sometimes the early missionaries are blamed, because they left so little on record in regard to their doings and the history of their churches; this policy of silence and suppression was dictated by prudence and necessity, as the recorded administration of the Sacraments might be used as documentary evidence against the priest. But, in Father Beeston's day there was no longer any danger from this source; and the marriage, baptismal and burial registers were kept by him in perfect order. Few Catholic churches in the country have registers that go back before 1790; it may be that he learned the lesson of exactitude in this matter from his experience at Philadelphia, where he had been with Father Molyneux, by whom the first entries in the marriage register (July 4, 1790) and baptismal registers are made. After this first entry, all the marriages for 1790-1-2-3 are recorded by Father Beeston. There were seven in 1790; amongst them one at Queen Anne's, July 4; at Elkton, August 13; at Bohemia, August 15; Tully's Neck, December 12. The total of baptisms for 1790 was 23, all by Fathers Moly-

neux and Beeston; for 1791, 42, all by Father Beeston, except one in June by Rev. Charles Whelan, and one in August, at Appoquinimink, by Rev. Chris. Vinc. Keating; for 1792, 44, of which one, at Bohemia, February 27, and three in May, Newcastle County, Delaware, by Louis De Barth.¹

Father Beeston, besides being careful in keeping the registers of the church, was exact in recording events of interest or importance in the House Diary; he must have had an aptitude for farming, as his observations show that he knew a great deal about crops, cattle and workmen. Some extracts from the diary will throw light on the history of the Church: "Nov. 3, 1791. Went to Baltimore to the first Diocesan Synod assembled by the Rt. Rev. Father in God, John Carroll, D. D., Bishop of Baltimore, and first Bishop in the United States of

¹The Registers begin with 1790: but, there are some notes, extracts from earlier records of Baptisms, apparently collected by Father Lewis, and later by Father Molyneux, some of them going back to the time of Father Greateon, and probably copied from his note book: 1750. May. Christened Betty's Dick; June. Ralph's Nelly; 1752. April 2. Nenny's Ralph; 1755. Nov. 9. Nenny's John. Godfather, Isaac, Godm. Betty; 1760. Dec. Christened Mary's Sara; 1775. Aug. 27. Christened together Margaret Wood, Stephen Martin. Mary Connelly, Mary Cogan; Oct. 2. Rachel Anderson—14. John Connolly—24. Sara Willington. Sponsors, Holland & Sara Webb; Nov. 1. John Hawkin. Sponsors, Matthew Hartley, Sara Casey; Dec. 15. William Desprat. Spons. Mary Hissey; 1776. Jan. 7. Richard, Ben. Nowland's Negro, Sponsors, David, Betty; April 19, John Ricketts; May 5. David, Mr. Matthew's Negro; May 25, Daniel O'Donald; June 17, Mary Smith, Spons. Dennys Haggerty; June 30. Mary Kelly, Spons. John & Mary Casey; July 25, Mary & Cather. Hooby, Twins; Aug. 4. Delia, Sylv. Nowland's Negro Girl; 15. Sara. Mr. Scott's Negro Girl; 25. Benedict, Sponsors, Charles & Mrs. Haverling; Sept. 1. Jacob Reynolds; Samuel Parker; 17. Sara Mull; 18. Edward Tolend; 21. Nancy Duhall; Oct. 5. John, of Wm. Craddock. Sponsors, John & Betty Craddock; Oct. 13. Ann Robinet; Oct. 13. Katey Reynolds; Oct. 19. Margaret Garrah. John McCawley; Nov. 17. Adam Barret, John Barret.—1779. Baptisms, 28, recorded for this year.

America. (There were twenty-one members present, of whom twelve had been Jesuits.) Dec. 10. Rev. Mr. Louis De Barth, a native of Alsace, came to live with me at Bohemia. April 21, 1792. Threw down the old chapel. May 7. Pulled down parlour chimney and part of both the gable ends of the house. May 8. Began to rebuild. May 10. Began to dig the foundations of the New Church. May 15. Tuesday, Rev. F. Beeston laid the first stone of the New Church at the N. W. Corner. June 12. Mr. Be Barth left to live at Portobacco. Oct. 11. Work began on the new road from the chapel to Warwick, and was continued through the month. Oct. 29. Brought stocks to the saw mill for the new Church. Nov. 2. Began to frame the roof of new Church. Jan. 25, 1793. Scaffold for roof. March 7. Made the graveyard. April 9. More stocks for Church. May 1. Roof of Church raised. May 13. Rev. Messrs. Sewall and Delavan arrived. May 18. Rev. Fr. Beeston left Bohemia, delivering up the care of it to Rev. Mr. Lewis Caesar Delavan. The Rev. Mr. Charles Sewall accompanied Mr. Beeston to Baltimore, where the latter is to succeed the former in the care of the congregation. He terminates this last entry with A. M. D. G.

Rev. Francis Beeston, born in Lincolnshire, England, June 15, 1751, entered the Society at Ghent, Sept. 7, 1772. After the suppression in 1773 he became a master at the English Seminary at Liège. He was for a short time in England, and came to America in 1786 with strong recommendations to Rev. John Carroll, Prefect Apostolic. He was stationed at St. Joseph's, Philadelphia. He remained in Baltimore as rector of the Cathedral until his death, December 31, 1809. A sympathetic notice of him was written by Archbishop Carroll for Kington's *New American Biographic Dictionary*, published in Baltimore in 1810. It is a personal tribute to him "with whom he had long resided, and by whom he

was constantly aided and relieved in his arduous offices, whom he cherished as a faithful counsellor and companion." He commemorates his priestly zeal and labors, his charity towards the poor, his heroism in attendance upon the victims of yellow fever, which several times devastated Baltimore—twice he contracted the pestilential disease. Father Beeston did all in his power to pay off the debts of Bohemia, which, at his coming, exceeded £925. The home mission, in 1792, numbered scarcely one hundred souls. The first United States Census (1790) has for Cecil County, under "Heads of Families," Francis Beeston—Whites, 1; slaves, 49. The church, which he was pushing rapidly forward when he was called away, remained unfinished until Rev. Ambrose Marechal became the pastor. An oil portrait of Father Beeston, presented by his great-grandniece, is at Loyola College, Baltimore.

All the priests who had been hitherto stationed at Bohemia (1704-1783) were members of the Society of Jesus. Until after the American Revolution they were the only Catholic clergymen with permanent missions and fixed congregations in Maryland and Pennsylvania, the only provinces in which the ministrations of the church were tolerated. At the suppression of the Society in 1773 there were twenty priests of the order in America. On the eve of separation from England a number of young Jesuit priests, who had completed their studies in Flanders, returned to their native land. When independence was secured, and with it religious liberty, some secular clergymen came to the United States, and various religious orders began to form establishments in the country. The Sulpitians were invited by Bishop Carroll to his Diocese, which then embraced the whole United States, and they reached Baltimore July 10, 1791, where they founded St. Mary's Seminary. They were

straitened for means to instal and support such an institution, and the Bishop, who admired their devotion and self-sacrificing spirit, was poor himself, and could aid them only by his good-will and encouragement. Under these circumstances an agreement was entered into between the corporation of the Roman Catholic clergy of Maryland and the superior of the Seminary, which placed the reverend gentlemen of St. Sulpice in charge of Bohemia for six years, 1793–1799. This corporation was chartered by the State of Maryland, December 23, 1792; its members were former Jesuits, and its object was to safeguard and transmit for the service of religion the possessions that had previously been held by private individuals. The terms of the agreement were: 1° That the profits arising from the Bohemia Estate be granted to the Seminary of St. Sulpice . . . for so long a time as the legal Trustees for the property shall find it advantageous for the general benefit of the Diocese. 2° That the profits be employed for the maintenance of the Superior and Directors of the Seminary. 3° That if any surplus should remain, it be applied to the education of such students as the Bishop may think proper to recommend. 4° That the said body of Sulpicians shall maintain a clergyman on the said Estate for the benefit of the neighboring Congregations. . . . The agreement was signed at Baltimore, May 3, 1793, by Robert Molyneux, Sec'y Gen. Chap., and Franciscus Carolus Nagot, Superior Seminarii Baltimorensis.

In accordance with this agreement, Rev. Louis Caesar Delavan was installed at Bohemia, in succession to Father Beeston, who departed for Baltimore, May 18, 1793. He was not a Sulpitian; but he was a friend of M. Nagot, whom he accompanied to America; he had been Canon of St. Martin's of Tours; and he died at Baltimore in 1795. He continues the diary, beginning with a formal entry, as follows:

*suite du journal depuis que monsieur biston a quitté
boëmia.*

On the first Sunday, which was the Feast of Pentecost, he said Mass, but did not preach—merely announcing the Mass of obligation for the next day, and the fast days of the week. Whit Monday was then a holiday of obligation, but it was also a negro holiday; to his astonishment there were very few at church, a picnic in the neighborhood having greater attractions. He records also on the same day, that whilst out walking towards the quarters, he saw a colored man working in his patch of garden; the overseer informed him that this was a privilege which the negroes had on holidays; and he makes the comment: “M. Delavan thinks with reason that it is proper to abolish a custom which must cause scandal to the whole country side.” Gentlemen whose lives had been spent in the seclusion of French Seminaries, and whose occupation had been the training of candidates for the ecclesiastical state, had much to learn in regard to the administration of a rural American parish, and the management of a large plantation with its numerous dependent negro families. The diary, kept in French until May, 1796, is filled with observations on the crops and harvests, and complaints of negligence on the part of workmen and servants.

The stay of M. Delavan was short; on the 23rd of May he was taken down with fever, and went to Philadelphia on the 31st; he was succeeded by Rev. Antoine Garnier, S. S., who, at different times during the administration of the Seminary, was in temporary charge of the Mission. On June 18th he took a team to Frenchtown for MM. Chicoisneau and Marechal, and sent a wagon for the trunks and packages which the latter had brought from Baltimore. A custom of the time and place is indicated by the enumeration amongst the items

of supplies, "30 gallons of rum for the harvest." Rev. Jean Baptiste Chicoisneau, S. S., a native of Orleans, France, was professor at St. Mary's Seminary from 1792 to 1796; in the latter year he went to Canada, where he died in 1818. He seems to have interrupted his professorial occupations by visits to Bohemia, either for rest during vacation time, or to supply for the absent pastor. On this first visit he remained until October; going to Baltimore August 1st for provisions, he returned with needed domestic supplies, including six barrels of herrings, on which the negroes lived for a month when, as everyone was getting sick, a cow was slaughtered and the meat was divided out.

Reverend Antoine Garnier and Reverend Jean Tessier, who for years were identified with the direction of the Seminary and with the Catholic activities of Baltimore, were at various times, and occasionally for considerable periods, at Bohemia; but the Reverend Ambrose Marechal, subsequently third Archbishop of Baltimore, was the regular pastor in residence, with occasional interruptions, during nearly the whole time of the Sulpitian occupation. The baptismal and marriage registers bear his name from 1793 to 1799. There are occasional entries by others, in French handwriting, names unsigned, except in cases where M. Tessier officiated.

The house Diary, which had been written in French for three years, with minute particulars of wind, weather and the operations of the farms, is in English, beginning with May, 1796. It is a jejune record of unimportant happenings. For the purposes of this chronicle the following excerpts are interesting: "Feb. 13, 1797. MM. Garnier and Deroset at Bohemia. May 19, 1797. RR. Dr. J. Carroll arrived at Bohemia from Talbot. May 21. The Bishop preached and confirmed 50 persons. May 23. The Bishop set out for Baltimore. May 30, 1797. Laid

the floor of the Chapel, and put up the laths. Oct. 1, 1797. Said Mass for the first time in St. Francis Xavier's Church of Bohemia. (It is a tradition that the altar rail and its supports in the church were turned by him.) The last entry in the diary by Rev. A. Marechal is dated July 26, 1799. In a letter from Baltimore, September 15, 1799, to Mr. Hugh Matthews, he indicates that he had taken definite leave of Bohemia, and that Rev. Mr. Phelan had succeeded him.

The *Diary*, a large folio volume, from which the preceding items for the period, 1790-1799, have been gleaned, was also utilized as an *Account Book*. There are lists of *Things Lent*, *Things Borrowed*. The "Priest's Mill," as it was called, was in the meadow below the house; the miller was an important functionary, and the tolls from the mill constituted a valuable source of revenue for the estate. The accounts were kept with great exactitude under the headings, *Ground*, *Consumed*, *Sold*. The grist for one year, 1798, was 2595 bushels of corn, 233 of wheat, and 109 of rye. There was also a saw-mill, and minute descriptions are given of the timber brought, the charges made, and the parties to whom the lumber was delivered. The *Grain Rents* from the tenants, the *Income* from the farms, and the *Accounts* with the Procurator of the province are recorded until 1840.

There are Lists of Parishioners for the years 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801. Perhaps the most interesting section of the account book is that which contains a detailed statement concerning the negroes who belonged to the estate. The changes that time has wrought at Bohemia in the relations between the pastor and his flock are vividly portrayed in these domestic records. Father Beeston, at his coming in 1790, wrote on the first page at the back of his diary:

The yearly allowance of clothes to the Negros
is as follows, Viz.

Men & Working boys.—One Winter suit, consisting of one woolen Jacket & Breeches (or trowsers at option of Master); one pair yarn stockings; one pair shoes—Two shirts.—one pair linen trowsers for Summer.

Women & working girls. One woolen short gown, and petticoat, for winter.—one linen petticoat for Summer—two shifts—one pair shoes—one pair yarn stockings every other year; and feeding alternately.

Children—As necessity requires.

N. B.—Blankets, when necessary.

Then there is given by columns the annual statement, with names of recipients, Old Ralph, Jack, Luke—Suke, Henny, Moll, Poll, &c., the articles distributed—shirts & shifts—jackets—breeches—petticoats—short gowns—shoes—stockings.

In this connection, but sometime later, under the administration of M. Marechal, an account was opened with the broad flourishing caption: *Negroes Sold—Negroes Bought*. Some locum-tenens, ignorant of, or disregarding proprietary rights, conceived the plan of disposing of the surplus negroes in order to increase the revenue. This slave traffic was promptly arrested when it came to the knowledge of the Corporation. Eight had been sold in 1794-5. At the meeting of the Trustees, held at White Marsh, August 21, 1796, it was resolved “that the Agent do write to the President of the Seminary of Baltimore, to inform him that it is the opinion of the Corporation, that by the profits arising from the Estate of Bohemia, as granted to the benefit of the Seminary, are understood the annual crops, rents, the increase of stock, and firewood not fit for building or fence rails; but that moneys arising from the sale of

negroes are not understood to be enumerated among the profits of the Estate, nor is timber to be carried off the land."

Bohemia, not having proved advantageous to the Seminary, its management was voluntarily returned to the Corporation that owned it, on the first of January, 1799, by M. Nagot, President of St. Mary's; and an agreement was signed by him and Rev. Charles Sewall, January 2, 1801, concerning the adjustment of outstanding debts. The Register of the Seminary contains minute details of current expenses, supplies sent and received, receipts, &c.—all the business transactions from 1793 to 1799, the years of the Sulpitian management. There is also an *Inventaire des Ustenciles, Meubles et Autres Effets de Bohemia, fait le 19 Mai, 1793*, the date when Father Beeston relinquished his charge; from which it appears that there were then on the estate, 24 Horses; 44 horned Cattle; 60 Hogs; and 48 Slaves.

The name of Rev. Ambrose Marechal appears for the last time on the Baptismal Register, in the Spring of 1799: he departed from Bohemia during the following Summer, and Rev. Lawrence S. Phelan became his immediate successor, remaining until 1801, and probably till a later date. It is difficult to determine who were the Pastors from 1800 to 1806, the time of their coming, and the length of their stay. The Church Registers should furnish information; but, they were neglected for nearly seven years, and give no indication of the officiating clergyman. Whoever he was, there was a failure to observe the regulation of the first Synod of Baltimore regarding the keeping of Church Records: or, perhaps, being only an itinerant visitor, he kept a private record, carrying it away with him, or registering Baptisms and Marriages in some other Church. In the scarcity of Priests at that time, one often had charge of a territory,

where now there are a dozen churches: and the frequent journeys and change of residence led to the dispersal or mixing of the Records. The Sulpitians, methodical by training, and exact observers of ecclesiastical requirement, offered a model worthy of imitation to their successors at Bohemia; but, the Registers were neglected for nearly seven years after their departure. Rev. Lawrence S. Phelan succeeded M. Marechal; Rev. George Staunton, O.S.A., is mentioned as Pastor in 1801—but, he may have come down from Philadelphia only for a short stay. Rev. Charles Whelan seems to have been there, as the Burial Register has this entry: "1806, March 21. Died at the Head of Little Bohemia, the Rev. Charles Whelan, of the Order of St. Francis, formerly Chaplain of the French Navy, and lately Pastor of White Clay Creek. He was about 65 yrs of age; his remains were buried near to those of Mr. Faure, close to the East end of the Church of Bohemia." All that is known of this other Priest is furnished by Rev. Ambrose Marechal, who had made the following entry in the same Burial Register: "1799, Aug. 21. Died at the Head of Bohemia, the Rev. Stephen Faure, a French Priest, residing at Wilmington, Del. He was about 37 years old. His eminent piety, extensive erudition, and active charity made him an object of respect and veneration to those who knew him. His remains were buried close to the North end of the Church of Bohemia; grave head begins at the East side or border of the Gospel window."

Rev. William Pasquet, a French secular priest, was pastor from 1806 to 1815. He had previously (1797) been at Newtown, St. Mary's County, and (1800) at Deer Creek, Harford County. He seems to have been the immediate successor of Mr. Phelan, who was sent by Bishop Carroll to Western Pennsylvania, where an intruding priest was giving scandal to the faithful by his irregular

conduct, and causing legal vexation to the Bishop by his usurpation of church property. The corporation, in 1806, transferred the use of the Bohemia estate to Bishop Carroll, "on condition of his maintaining a priest there for the service of the Neighboring Catholics." M. Pasquet was appointed pastor and manager for the Bishop, who enjoyed the usufruct. The first baptism in his name is for December 28, 1805; somewhat later he makes an entry in this style: "Married by the subscriber, Pastor of St. Francis Xavier's Church. Wm. Pasquet." He was of a litigious character and generally had a grievance against the Archbishop and the corporation. Years after his coming to Bohemia he ventilated one of his grievances as follows: "When I went to execute the disagreeable commission of the corporation towards Mr. Phelan, I was not appointed the Clergyman of Bohemia; it was only four months afterwards; and for many years I had to attend the Congregations of Deer Creek, Bohemia, Long Green, the Barrens—and, for some time, St. Joseph's in Talbot County—and I received nothing for my services in those different Congregations, my traveling expenses being great, chiefly in crossing Susquehanna." He was unfortunate in his disposition, and from 1805 till 1814 there is a long history of his claims against Deer Creek and against the corporation, with which he was constantly trying to embroil the peace-loving Archbishop. Finally, to bring about an accommodation, the following resolution was passed by the corporation, October 19, 1814: "All previous means already ordained, for bringing the affairs of the corporation with Mr. Pasquet to a settlement, having failed, resolved, on the voluntary offer of the Archbishop and Rev. Mr. Francis Neale, that they shall proceed as soon as possible to Bohemia, and bring all things, if possible, to a final conclusion." Argument and terms of compro-

mise were apparently ineffectual with the wrongheaded man; and the "final conclusion" was the exercise of archiepiscopal authority. The Archbishop, in a letter of May 10, 1815, accuses him of "tergiversation and evasion"; and, patience being exhausted, declared, "it is impossible for me to leave the Congregation under his care." Pasquet had announced in the beginning of May his intention of returning to France; but he lost his passage by falling sick at Georgetown and could not go before the fall; the Archbishop probably suspecting that this was another attempt at "tergiversation," "agreed that he should remain until September, when Mr. Moynahan would replace him." He left America before August, 1816.

Rev. James Moynahan, born in Ireland was ordained by Archbishop Carroll, August 7, 1813. He was employed nearly all of his priestly life as assistant in the Missions of Maryland dependent upon the Society of Jesus. He came to Bohemia in October, 1815, and remained until March, 1817: in 1816, his name is on the Register for 22 Baptisms. Placed in charge of St. Joseph's, Talbot County, he died there in October, 1831.

The revenues of Bohemia had been allotted to Archbishop Carroll, with the obligation of supplying a Priest for the Congregation: on his death, December 3, 1815, his successor, Archbishop Leonard Neale, preferred to make other arrangements; and the Corporation resumed the management of Bohemia in 1816. The Society of Jesus, to which the members of the Corporation now belonged, had been restored in Maryland in 1804, and throughout the world in 1814. A number of young Americans had joined it, and several of them had been ordained; and with the accession of Priests from Europe, the Superior of the Maryland Mission was enabled to send a Priest of the Order to Bohemia as Pastor. The

name of Father John Henry appears on the Registers from May 11, 1817, until the following January. His longer residence was hindered by an untoward happening, which is described at length in the Diary of Brother Joseph Mobberly, S. J.—After years of loose supervision, the negroes had become ungovernable and very loose in their morals; Father Henry deemed it better to send some of the worst of them away from the estate, and he sold five of them to a neighbor, who was in the habit of purchasing Blacks for planters in Louisiana. A little before this, a severe law had been enacted by the Legislature of Maryland, against “Kidnappers,” who, it seems, had become pretty common on the Eastern Shore. The negroes were sent off in the mail stage to some place on Chesapeake Bay, where they were to be put on board of a vessel bound for New Orleans. The stage was stopped at Centreville, and the negroes were lodged in jail by a magistrate, who was also a Methodist preacher. Father Henry was also to have been arrested as a “kidnapper,” although he had full authority for the transaction. Still, a malicious interpretation of the late law might have caused him trouble, and his friends advised him to retire, in order to avoid the disagreeable necessity of attending court. Brother Mobberley met him in Baltimore, and started for Bohemia with \$2000, commissioned to release the prisoners, and to refund the money to the purchaser. This he accomplished, not without extortionate demands of the jailor and trader.

Father John Henry was born in Belgium in 1765; ordained in his native country; entered S. J. in Russia in 1804; came to the United States in 1806; died at Newtown, St. Mary’s County, March 12, 1823; his life in America was spent in the country missions of Maryland.

Rev. Michael J. Cousinne, S. J., was, like Father Henry, a native of Belgium, and like him also, he was al-

ready a priest when he entered the Society. He died at Bohemia, aged 52 years, July 31, 1819. The diary of Father John McElroy, under date of August 4, 1819, Georgetown College, says: "Received information this evening of the death of Father Cousinne, at Bohemia, on the Feast of our Holy Father, 31st ult.: at 8 o'clock P. M. He had been up the same day and assisted at part of Rev. Mr. Hickey's Mass. He had been nearly two years in the noviceship, and was just expected at the College, to make his retreat with his fellow-novices, in order to take his Vows on the Feast of the Assumption. He was a most strict observer of the Rules, and of Religious discipline." The Burial Register of Bohemia has this entry: "1819. August 1. Was buried behind the Church, at the altar, and near two other Priests, close to the wall, Michael J. Cousinne, S. J. He died yesterday about 8 P. M. Buried by J. Hickey."

Joseph B. Heard, S. J., a lay-brother, resided with Father Cousinne: for many years after this date one or two Brothers were stationed at Bohemia, as helpers to the Pastor in domestic concerns, and with general supervision of the farms. Brother Heard held this position for nearly twenty years: Brother John O'Sullivan, from 1849 to 1861, had charge of the home farm: members of his family were parishioners, and James O'Sullivan, a nephew, became a worthy Brother in the Society, —so far as known, this is the one religious vocation in the long history of the Mission.

Occasionally, Scholastics in weak health were sent to Bohemia, to recuperate, or to pursue their studies privately: the mild climate was considered to be beneficial in pulmonary troubles, and the country between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays was recommended in such cases by that eminent medical authority, Dr. Bowditch of Boston: Father Wm. F. Clarke was invalided

there (1847-1849), with one lung gone, and he became a famous preacher living until 1890: Rev. Alphonsus Charlier, sent there for his health, in 1849, is at the present writing, 1913, still actively engaged in the ministry at Boston.

Rev. Peter Epinette, S. J. was Pastor, from 1820, until his death, which took place at Bohemia, January 8, 1832. He was born in France, September, 24, 1760: entered the Society, at Duneburg, Russia, in 1805; landed at Baltimore, November 3, 1806; and was Professor of Theology at Georgetown College, until 1813.

From 1833 until 1838, Rev. Francis Varin, a Priest of the Diocese of Philadelphia, was Pastor. The Catholic Herald of Philadelphia, announcing his death, which took place at Goshenhoppen, Berks Co., Pa., May 21, 1840, says: "He was born of a noble family at Schone-walt in Saxony, 14 September, 1777. Being ordained Priest, he left Dresden, and arrived in the United States, in June, 1813. He spent many years in the City of Philadelphia, and many persons who now hold distinguished stations in society have derived instruction from him in different languages. The last two years of his life spent at Goshenhoppen." There follows an account of his last illness and edifying death, aged 62 years.

Father George King, S. J., was pastor from November, 1837, to April, 1851. He was alone at Bohemia until 1844; in that year Father John B. Cary, who had been in charge of St. Joseph's, Talbot County, came to live with him. Father Cary was broken in health; he had been employed for years on the missions of lower Maryland and the Eastern Shore, and in his retirement at Bohemia, during the last years of his life, he was mentally unbalanced. His chief aberration manifested itself on Saturday, when he would be seized with the persuasion that it was time for him to set out for his mission; he

would endeavor to get a wagon ready, as in the days of his active ministry, and that failing, he would wander off afoot. One Sunday morning he had disappeared and the whole congregation turned out to search for him. He was found unconscious down near the stream, in a damp, dark place where he had spent the night, having fallen exhausted by his wanderings. He died at Bohemia May 20, 1843.

PRIESTS BURIED AT BOHEMIA.

<i>Date and Country of Birth.</i>	<i>Date of Death.</i>
Thomas Hodgson (Hudson), S. J. 1682, England.	18 Dec., 1826.
Thomas Poulton (Pulton), S. J. 1697, England.	23 Jan., 1749.
Joseph Greaton, J. J. 1679, England.	19 Aug., 1753.
Matthias Manners (Sittensperger), S. J. 1719, Germany.	15 June, 1775.
John Lewis, S. J. 21 Oct., 1721, England.	24 March, 1788.
Stephen Faure..... 1761, France.	21 Aug., 1798.
Charles Whelan, O. S. F. 1741, Ireland.	21 Mar. 1806.
Michael J. Cousinne, S. J. 1 Nov., 1767, Belgium.	31 July, 1819.
Peter Epinette, S. J. 24 Sept., 1760, France.	8 Jan., 1832.
John Baptist Cary, S. J. 16 July, 1772, France.	20 May, 1843.

In 1844 St. Joseph's with its dependent stations was consolidated with Bohemia, Father King being the general Superior, assisted by Father James Lucas, 1844; Father George Villiger, 1845; Father Michael Tuffer, 1846; Father Nicholas Steinbacher, 1847; Father Wm. F. Clarke, 1848, 1849; Father Michael Tuffer, 1848, 1849, 1850. The fathers living at Bohemia visited Elkton, Queenstown, Chestertown, Denton, St. Joseph's, Dorchester County, and stations in Delaware.

This disposition of affairs, by which Bohemia became the central house and a fixed residence for all the fathers, had its advantages, as it enabled them to lead a community life; but it also had its drawbacks, the principal one being the long journeys for sick calls and the Sunday services at stations down the Peninsula. In 1851 the old order was restored, Father King remaining alone at Bohemia and Father James Power residing at St. Joseph's; next year they changed places. The Mission being sep-

arated, Elkton, Chestertown and some places in Delaware were served from Bohemia; the others reverted to St. Joseph's, where Father King remained until 1855, when, on account of failing health, he was sent to Newtown, St. Mary's County. He died at Loyola College, Baltimore, June 20, 1856.

Father King was born at Laurel, Delaware, February 8, 1796, and educated at Georgetown College. After the death of his wife he joined the Jesuit Order. His son, Charles King, also became a priest of the Society, well known in Baltimore. Shortly after his ordination Father George King was sent, in 1837, to Bohemia, and he labored as an active and zealous missionary for nearly twenty years on the Eastern Shore. The *Catholic Almanac* for 1857 pays this tribute to his virtues: "He was remarkable for his simplicity of manners, his kindness to all, and his admirable humility. He lived contented and unmurmuring in every privation. His patience and meekness were all that could be desired; whilst his zeal for the welfare of others led him to brave the scorching heat of summer and the storms of many a severe winter, to visit the sick, sometimes at the distance of a hundred miles."

Father Matthew Sanders, S. J., a Belgian, was the successor of Father Power, from 1852 till November, 1856. He was simple and abstemious in his habits, and at one of the missions at which he lived he had solved the question of the high price of living by reducing his annual personal expenses to \$26—living on corn and bacon, which he raised himself—his only indulgence being smoking tobacco, which he also raised. He died at Frederick, February 2, 1868.

Father George Villiger, S. J., was Superior from 1856 until 1878, except for a few months in 1859, when Father Leonard Nota took his place. He was a native of Switz-

erland, born in Canton Aargau, September 14, 1808. Sturdy in his build and rugged in constitution, Father Villiger had no assistant during his long term as pastor, and he wanted none, preferring to do all the work by himself; he was indefatigable, and by his zealous labors he did much for the advancement of religion and the improvement of the church. He was assiduous in visiting the outlying districts, several new stations were begun by him, and one or two churches erected. He placed the marble slab with its appropriate inscription over the entrance of St. Francis Xavier's, added the vestibule, and procured the sweet-sounding bell, which could be heard for miles around as it proclaimed the Angelus. He found time also to publish some controversial pamphlets, "Letters to a Protestant Friend" and "The Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic Church." Partial paralysis obliged him to be sent to Frederick, where he would be free from active duties; but, a life of leisure did not suit his temperament, and having received relief from his infirmity by electrical treatment, he begged to be sent to Conewago, the scene of his earlier labors in the ministry, and of polemical triumphs over adversaries of the faith. He died at Conewago, September 20, 1882.

Father Charles H. Heichemer, a young Priest, succeeded Father Villiger, in November, 1878, and remained until September, 1881. He died in Baltimore, October 21, 1893. Father John B. Gaffney, S. J. was the next Pastor, from 1881 to 1886; he built the new church at Middletown.—Father John M. Giraud was Pastor from August 4, 1886 to November 24, 1890.—Father Daniel F. Haugh was at Bohemia, from 1890 until 1898, except one year (1894), when Father Joseph Desribes was Pastor. Father Haugh was the last Jesuit in charge of the old Mission: it was given over to the Bishop of Wilmington, in 1898: during the last decade of Jesuit occupation,

the names of several Fathers appear on the Registers, who were assistants to the Pastors mentioned above—John B. Archambault, Herman Richard, Robert W. Brady, James T. Gardiner, Patrick J. O'Connell and Andrew Rapp. Father Haugh was dearly loved by his people, and respected by all who knew him. He died at Georgetown, January 6, 1902: his Month's Mind was celebrated at the place he loved so well. He was the last Jesuit Pastor of the time-honored Mission—and not one of his predecessors is now alive; Father Gaffney having died at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., January 14, 1908, and Father Giraud at the same place in April of the present Year.—Revs. John A. Daly, Charles B. McGoldrick, and Charles A. Crowley, of the Diocese of Wilmington, have been the Pastors since the departure of the Jesuits. Middletown and Chesapeake City were the only dependancies of Bohemia in recent years. The old pastoral residence adjoining the Church was saved at the time of the fire, but it is now unoccupied, the Pastor living in Middletown: Mass is said at Bohemia every second Sunday.

The Church was destroyed by fire, in the morning of New Year's Day, 1912; the Bishop of Wilmington was prompt in resolving that this cradle of Catholicity should not perish utterly: under his encouragement the work of reconstruction was begun in May: by the energy of the Pastor, Rev. Charles A. Crowley, generously seconded by the parishioners and friends, the Church was completed,—the original site, dimensions and form being substantially retained,—and dedicated by Rt. Rev. John J. Monaghan, Bishop of Wilmington, October 24, 1912. Many Clergymen were present at the ceremony; the sermon was preached by Rev. Charles W. Lyons, S. J., President of St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia.

PASTORS OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S CHURCH.

1704-1913.

- 1704-1712. Rev. Thomas Mansell, S. J.
 1712-1726. Rev. Thomas Hodgson, S. J.
 1726-1742.
 1742-1749. Rev. Thomas Poulton, S. J.
 1749- . Rev. John Kingdon, S. J.
 -1753. Rev. Joseph Greateon, S. J.
 1753-1764. Rev. John Lewis, S. J.
 1764-1775. Rev. Matthias Manners, S. J.
 1775-1788. Rev. John Lewis, S. J.
 1788-1790. Rev. Robert Molyneux, S. J.
 1790-1793. Rev. Francis Beeston, S. J.
 1793-1799. Rev. Ambrose Marechal, Antoine Garnier,
 Jean Tessier, Sulpitians.
 1799- . Rev. Lawrence S. Phelan.
 1806-1815. Rev. William Pasquet.
 1815-1817. Rev. James Moynahan.
 1817-1818. Rev. John Henry, S. J.
 1818-1819. Rev. Michael J. Cousinne, S. J.
 1820-1832. Rev. Peter Epinette, S. J.
 1833-1838. Rev. Francis Varin.
 1838-1851. Rev. George King, S. J.
 1852- . Rev. James Power, S. J.
 1852-1856. Rev. Matthew Sanders, S. J.
 1856-1878. Rev. George Villiger, S. J.
 1878-1881. Rev. Charles H. Heichemer, S. J.
 1881-1886. Rev. John B. Gaffney, S. J.
 1886-1890. Rev. John M. Giraud, S. J.
 1890-1894. Rev. Daniel F. Haugh, S. J.
 1894-1895. Rev. Joseph Desribes, S. J.
 1895-1898. Rev. Daniel F. Haugh, S. J.
 1898-1901. Rev. John A. Daly.
 1901-1904. Rev. Charles P. McGoldrick.
 1904- . Rev. Charles A. Crowley.

Georgetown University.

E. I. DEVITT, S. J.

MARRIAGE REGISTERS
OF
HOLY TRINITY CHURCH OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.
A. D. 1791-1799.

PRIESTS NAMED THEREIN—JOHN CHARLES HELBRON, PETER HELBRON
AND LAURENCE PETER PHELAN.

FROM THE ORIGINALS BY FRANCIS X. REUSS.

EDITED WITH NOTES

BY REV. THOMAS COOKE MIDDLETON, D.D., O.S.A.

Prefatory Note.—The first volume of the Sacramental Registers at Holy Trinity Church of Philadelphia has already been described in these RECORDS (see vol. xxi, p. 65 *et seq.*), where it was said to contain the baptisms, marriages and burials of that church from 1789 down to "1804"; this latter date, however, proves to be a mistake of ours—due to its appearance in the title of the Register as on the book itself, where we copied it—the proper year being 1800. Later on the reader will learn the cause of this misleading feature in volume one.

It was furthermore stated that along with some election lists of Trustees of Holy Trinity chosen during the first era of that church, from 1790, May 24 to 1799, volume one comprised also the names of such converts as had made their profession of faith at the altar of Holy Trinity from 1791, November 5, to 1796, September 10—memo-

randa that will be published in future numbers of these RECORDS.

The baptisms, six hundred and forty-seven in all, as recorded in that volume, if my count be not astray, have already been published.

Title of the Marriage Register in Vol. 1.—We now give the translation of the marriage entries that have been registered in this volume.¹ The page which opens with the marriages is headed (presumably by Father Helbron) thus :

Cathologus [*sic*] **Matrimonialis Ecclesiae Parochialis St'ma** [*i. e.*, **Sanctissimae**] **Trinitatis Philadelphia. 1791**, which in English reads: "*List of Marriages of the Parish Church of the Most Holy Trinity of Philadelphia. 1791.*" After the word "Parochialis" (in the title) formerly followed three others, viz., **Germanae Romano-Catholicae**, i. e., *German Roman Catholic*, that long ago, as appears, by we know not whom, were crossed out with ink.

Following this title and on the same page are the entries of two marriages for the year 1791, and six for 1792. In these RECORDS these will be found in sequence ahead of the others in the Marriage List.

A Bibliographical Mystery.—As another instance of the many bibliographical mysteries, that as often noticed in previous pages are continually cropping up in the Registers, many of which defy the translator's most painstaking efforts, I note that in this present register have been inserted three Baptisms apparently for the year 1792 as follows :

¹ Other baptisms and marriages for the years we have already covered —1796-1799—will be found in volume two.

BAPTISMS FOR 1792(?)

Opfermann, Michael, born April 21st, [1792?] of Adam and Elizabeth Opferman—bapt. 6th May—sponsors Michael Schloessmann and his wife Philippina, Lutherans;—Assistant Sebastian Hoffman. Catholic.

Benner, John, born April 23rd, of Peter and Salomi Benner—bapt. 6th—sponsors John Henry and Mary Benner.

Boestly, Francis Adam, three weeks old, of Adam and Catharine Boestly—bapt. Feb. 3d, 1793, by P. Helbron, sponsors Francis Adam Jung.

First Priests at Holy Trinity.—Of the priests who are named in the following registers none are strangers to us. In former Notes¹ (q. v.) we have already treated fully of Fathers John Charles and Peter Helbron in connection both of Holy Trinity of Philadelphia, and of the old Goshenhoppen missions (now Bally) in Berks county, in Pennsylvania. With Father Phelan too we have become fairly well acquainted. So no more needs be said of them at present.

Place-Names in the Marriage Register.—As to the places encountered in the marriage lists they are unusually many together with several that are wholly unrecognizable.

But first be it observed that four marriages will be found that were solemnized at a considerable distance from Holy Trinity, in fact far outside its mission lines,—two in Reading in Pennsylvania,—the former ecclesiastical territory of the two Fathers Helbron, when at Goshenhoppen; they were witnessed by Father Peter; (see entries for July 21, 1796, and August 28, 1767); and two at Burlington in New Jersey, (see entries for July 21 and November 1, 1794);—German couples at the first celebration, then French couples at the other two.

¹ See RECORDS, (1910) xxi, pp. 69–72, for the two Fathers Helbron, Elling and Goetz.

The place-names, as said, are many. The list of them is interesting among other reasons apart from their geographical distances from Holy Trinity, and greater still, from one another, as characteristic of Mother Church, which in her catholicity knows no bounds. She embraces as her own children souls from every quarter of the globe. Thus we find worshiping at our Philadelphia shrine and there receiving among other sacramental graces those of holy marriage, parties from divers countries in Europe, as England, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Scotland and Switzerland. These places encountered in the registers are the majority of them in *France*, as: Paris, Nantes, Nancy, Briey (*sic*, but better *Brie*), in Lorraine, Aix, "Desbos," Strasburg, in Alsace, Boulogne, *Bononia* (in the register), "Pontemassoug," in Lorraine, Montmoreau, Montmirail, Martigne, may be the same as Martigny, Bayonne, Bourdeaux, Montaubard, "Bouergue," Toulon, Montauban, Marseilles, "Puygaillard," in Gascony, Metz, "Noueras" and "Nancras" (or "Naucras") in "Saintoga," *Santonum* (in the register); it is meant, I should say, for Saintonge; besides (though somewhat vaguely described) the Departments or Provinces of Gironde, Perigord, Berri, Languedoc, Valence, Alsace and Normandy.

In the spelling of seven names of cities or towns named above (in quotation marks) I have followed carefully the form given in the registers, but have failed to locate them. Possibly, too, as the political lines not only of Europe, but of the rest of the world, have changed considerably since the latter part of the eighteenth century, date of our registers, the reader must search for some of these cities elsewhere than on the maps of France.

In *Germany*, Dantzic is mentioned; so is Hanau and Hamburg; in *Italy*, birthplace of "Joseph Marbell," which the copyist surmises, rightly, I judge, should read

Marabello, who signs himself "Giuseppe" (see marriage for April 10, 1798); Corsica also is mentioned.

Then we find in *Switzerland* Chamounix; in *Holland* Amsterdam and Utrecht; excepting Hamburg and Hanau in Germany, which has been misspelled "Honau," no other cities are named for that country, nor for *Ireland* or *Scotland*, and one only—Penzance—for *England*, which Father Helbron locates wrongly in France.

In North America *Canada* is named once only, I believe (see 1796, January 11), while in the *West Indies* several birthplaces are encountered, as "Revuer," which the register places in the island of St.-Pierre de Martinique, but I do not find it; Cap François and Dandon in San Domingo; Jeremie in Hayti; the Isle of St. Kitts; Isle of St. Vincent.

The names of two places have not been located—"St. Poursan," (see Marriage 1795, March —); unless as well nigh certain is meant St. Pourçain, and "Perhousta," (see same for 1793, Sept. 20). St. Pourçain is in France; "Perhousta" however has a Spanish look, yet the *Century Atlas*, which I have followed, does not give it.

Contents of Volume II.—The second volume of Holy Trinity, which appears from a study of its contents, to have been used *simultaneously* for registrations from 1796 down to 1799 with the first volume,—a bad fashion at that,—contains other lists of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, in fact very many from 1796 to 1806, when volume two closes. Both volumes then thus overlapping one another must be consulted in order to find the sacramental ministrations and burials for the four years as above (1796-1799).

Other Priests of Holy Trinity.—Volume one as will have been noticed was used exclusively by the two Fathers Helbron and Phelan,—clergymen of excellent

unblemished character; the other also exclusively for reasons we may only guess at, by Fathers Elling, Goetz, Fromm, as he opened the three of them—a register of their own, and Father Britt, S. J. Further mention of these missionaries¹ will perhaps appear later when we essay the publication of the second volume; the first three named, of whose story we have given glimpses in our Notes in earlier numbers of the RECORDS need but little notice at present.

Here it may be simply repeated that all three had a disagreeably chequered career; were leaders in many disturbances in Philadelphia that vexed the souls of the Faithful; besides being forerunners of Hoganism. Father Fromm, who had served for a while on back-country missions in the central part of Pennsylvania, among others in Westmoreland county, was of like character with his companions at Holy Trinity in his turbulent disposition, his being at odds with his superiors, among them (Mr. Reuss writes) Bishop Carroll of Baltimore.

Though not pleasant to speak of such matters, yet on further thought it is perhaps just as well to jot down here briefly some few details relative to these four missionaries, of whom good only can be recorded of Father Britt, as far as I know of him. For Rev. John Nepomucene Goetz, who entered on mission service at Holy Trinity in 1796, where he was from the first an intriguer with Father Elling against Father Peter Helbron, the reader will find references to him in many works, among them in Shea's *History* (ii, 419), where he is declared to be "schismatic," "suspended," "violator of the censures" (laid upon him by Bishop Carroll), and "excommunicated." While Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin in his *Re-*

¹For Fathers Elling and Goetz the reader is referred to our *Note* in RECORDS (1910, xxi, 71); they died at peace with their bishop.

searches (for 1887, pp. 112-123) reprints in full Father Goetz's sermon—a good one, too—on “The Sanctity of Christian Temples,” delivered in Holy Trinity, November 20, 1796, and printed in Philadelphia the same year.

The life-story of the other companion of Father Goetz, Rev. Francis Rogatus Fromm, a Franciscan Recollect (according to Finotti, *Bibliographia*, p. 248, but in the Register of Baptisms for 1799, August 19, simply “*Ord. S. Francisci*”—Franciscan), from his departure from Germany, where he was ordained priest in 1773, whence he had left for the United States in 1789, has been told pretty fully in a paper on “Sportsman's Hall,” published in these RECORDS for 1891 (iii, 142-173). The author, Rev. Vincent Huber, O. S. B., while citing several official documents—both ecclesiastical and civil in support of his story—shows up this “intruder” into our American missionary life as one who had entered the country “unsolicited and unknown”; had “defied the authority of Bishop Carroll”; had been ousted from his claims to “Sportsman's Hall”—a mission center in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania—by court decree in 1798, whence he migrated to Philadelphia, where he died in a hospital from yellow fever the year after, “unreconciled with his bishop.” Unfortunate soul in his misguided adventures! May the Lord have had mercy on him long ago. Otherwise we are glad to record the fact that both Fathers Goetz and Elling returned to their better sense and lived to atone for their previous rebellion. So true it is in the story of our venerable Religion that the number of the evil is far overbalanced by the hosts of the upright. And is not the Church alone the Divine medium for not only the conversion of souls, but the glory of the Saints?¹

¹See also Shea's *History* (ii, 449-51) and Lambing's *Historical Sketch of Catholicity in Western Pennsylvania* (p. 364) for more of this trouble-breeder.

Different wholly from his comrades in part at Holy Trinity was Rev. Adam Britt, a Jesuit, who had been sent to this country from Europe to serve on the missions (in 1805), it appears; in 1806 he registered at Holy Trinity. After a few years at Holy Trinity—three, I believe—where he had been stationed by Bishop Carroll on his arrival in order “to repair past scandals”—thus Dr. Shea in his *History* (ii, 524, 525)—Father Britt was named “Pastor of Holy Trinity” in 1808 (p. 639), whence he was called South—to Maryland—by the Bishop some time apparently not long after (p. 655).

Analysis of the Congregation of Holy Trinity.—It has been stated at times by writers on Holy Trinity church, which was organized mainly, if not exclusively for the German Catholics of Philadelphia,—the Germans had long wished for a church of their own, while St. Mary’s was to be the church for the English- and French-speaking Catholics, that after a short while the French too, of whom a great number flocked to that city,—refugees for the most part from France and her West Indian settlements during the horrors of the Great Revolution in that country,—affiliated themselves with the so-called German church, of Holy Trinity, “as the priests there spoke French. But the registers of the two churches,—St. Mary’s and Holy Trinity,—as far as I’ve studied them, don’t seem to bear out that conclusion. For although some hand long ago (as observed above),—likely Father Peter Helbron himself,—erased the words—“German Roman Catholic” from the title-page of Holy Trinity registers in volume I,—thus making that church cosmopolitan rather than distinctively sectional in character,—this fact is clear from the pages of the sacramental books of both churches that about an equal number of Germans and French are recorded therein; again St. Mary’s congregation as well as St.

Augustine's, (in 1801, when it was opened to Divine worship and afterwards), numbered many French Catholics on their rolls. In all three churches there were French-speaking priests, if not Frenchmen themselves by birth. In fact in all three of these mission centers there was a sprinkling of many nationalities, besides those named,—Italians, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, Canadians, who however were usually French, Swiss, Belgians, and Scots, who all found in Philadelphia the same church services as they had at home.

It is pleasing, even though perhaps not very pertinent to our theme, to recall the titles of our first churches in Philadelphia,—the *Divine Trinity* of God; *Mary* the Mother of God; *Augustine*, Defender of that Trinity; and *Joseph*, who preceded them all by seniority of foundation, Spouse of that Mother. Then but long after comes *Michael*, the Warrior Angel of God.

Contents of Volume II further described.—The contents of volume two of the sacramental books at Holy Trinity, which it is hoped will see the light before long, comprise,—we shall describe them only very briefly,—many topics relating to that shrine. In this one register, the same pretty much as all old-time church books, a great variety of topics was recorded. We have noted frequently such multiform use of registers in our studies of Goshenhoppen; see these RECORDS for 1891, (iii, pp. 295–302), for the sacramental register of that mission from 1765 to 1785; Father Gallitzin's *Memorandum Book*, from 1804 to 1823; (*ibid.* 1893, iv, pp. 1–36); and his lists of Paschal Communions in 1810, Confirmations by Bishop Egan in 1811; and Paschal Confessions in 1813,—all at Loretto, the mountain mission founded by that zealous, saintly pioneer on top of the Alleghanies, cradle of the Faith for many miles round. But to resume our analysis of the second volume of Holy Trinity's

registers. Its contents then embrace the sacraments conferred from 1796 to 1806,—*i. e.*, Baptisms by Fathers Goetz, Elling and Fromm 1796 to 1803, (Bishop Carroll's name appears in this section), and by Fathers Elling and Britt in 1806; with Marriages for the whole period 1796–1806; and the Burials registered for the same time. With their publication this Society will have full lists of the sacramental records at Holy Trinity, as far as attainable, for the seventeen years from its genesis in 1789 to 1806.

Trials of our Copyist.—The copyist has frequently bewailed in his notes and comments attached to his transcripts from these registers—the ones we follow—the many difficulties of his task: the vexatious interlineations of Father Phelan, who however wrote an excellent hand; his numerous marginal entries and memoranda; and Father Peter Helbron's scrawling writing,—he seemed never to have had a good quill,—with blots and erasures without number, hard to decipher at best and with solutions not always quite satisfactory, to the translator, despite his painstaking labors and long experience in this sort of clerical work.¹

Conclusion.—It remains merely to subjoin the fact that the number of Marriages in this volume of Holy Trinity's registers,—the last having been witnessed on August 22, of 1799, is one hundred and fifty-seven, one couple being French Africans, (see Marriage, 1798, Sept. 22). And that the Notes in square brackets (unless otherwise designated) are by the Editor of this paper.

T. C. M.

VILLANOVA COLLEGE, PA.

February 7, 1913.

¹The writer of these lines may sympathize with Mr. Reuss fully; he had the same toilsome experience in tackling Father Peter's Goshenhoppen Registers. Besides he has himself conned many a page in Holy Trinity's.

MARRIAGES FOR 1791.

- Schorr—Maresel, September 22d, by [Rev.] John Charles Helbron; George Schorr and Dorothy Maresel—witnesses Nicholas Pfeifer, Catholic and Dorothy Margaret Martin, lately converted.
 [Signed]: "Peter Helbron, Administrator and Missionary."
 Speed—Theisin, December 27th, by Rev. Peter Helbron, John Christopher Speed and Anna Theisin.
 Marriages in 1791—2.

MARRIAGES FOR 1792.

- Sebastian——. Jan. 12th, by Rev. Helbron—Carl Sebastian and Mary Margaret, non-Catholic.
 Caneil—Jumendy, April 14th, by same; Philip Caneil and Elizabeth Jumendy, Methodist.
 Sporck—Kerns, Feb. 2d, by same; Peter Sporck and Mary Kerns, convert.
 Reinzel—Poth, May 2d, by same, Conrad Reinzel and Eva Poth, who had been married before a Lutheran minister. Now having received the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, their marriage has been "revalidated,"—*in nomine Domini*, in the name of the Lord.
 Grass—Hammin, September 4th, by P. Helbron—Caspar Grass, Protestant, and Margaret Hammin, widow, Catholic.
 Schmidt—Dilbert, October 25th, by P. Helbron, Alexander Landry Schmidt and Susanna Dilbert.
 Marriages in 1792—6.

MARRIAGES FOR 1793.

- Bavaille [Ravaille?—Aupres; January 7th, by P. Helbron—D. [*i. e.*, Dominus, *the Latin for Mister*] Severus Bavaille & Sophia, daughter of D. John Aupres.
 Nismi—Wileim [?], 8th, by P. Helbron, Benedict Nismi and Rebecca, daughter of Wileim [?].
 Mouzins—Schmidt; 11th, by same, Peter Mouzins, Lutheran, and Mary Schmidt; the marriage previously contracted before a minister now ratified.
 Kremer——, 14th,—by same, John Kremer and Mary, non-Catholics; their previous marriage before a magistrate now validated.
 Kieffer—Petit, 23d, by same—Peter Kieffer and Frances Susanna Petit, of the West Indies.
 Simoniet [*sic, but Simonet*]—Magniaut; April 8th, by same, Dominic Stephen Simonet and Susanna Magniaut.
 [Signed]: Le Senéchal De Kercados. S. de Larue. Suzanne Magniaut. Etienne Simonet.

Reichert—Lanzings, 9th, by same—John Reichert and Barbara Lanzings.

Phiel—Jung; 23d, by same—Rudolph Phiel and Catharine Jung.

Steffen—Phielen, 23d—by same; John Steffen and Catharine Phielen.

Schumacher—Lanzingers, May 7th, by same—Christian Schumacher and Elizabeth Lanzingers.

Schimy—Hettengoo; 28th, by same, Jacob Schimy and Magdalen Hettengoo.

June.

Boilandry [*sic*, but Boislandry]—Vitalli; 31st, [*sic*] by same—D. Basile Logrand—[Legrand?]-Boilandry and Genevieve Elizabeth Vitalli. Elizabeth Genevieve Vidal, native of Paris, daughter of Gerard Vidal and Catharine Elizabeth Descoedes [then a word illegible] Elizabeth Genevieve, widow from her first marriage with Barthelemy Masson. Basile Legrand Boislandry, native of Paris, son of Louis Legrand Boislandry and Catharine Guyot Desfurgerez.

NOTE.—*The above printed just as it stands reads very obscure.*

Tarride Berens—Mullers; September 20th—by same—D. F. John Martin Tarride Berens, born at Perhousa, and Susanna [two words unintelligible]—Mullers, born in Philadelphia.

[*Signed*]: Jean Tarride.

Bouthy de Esthrial—Noel; November 18th, by Rev. D. Phaelan. D. John Paul Bouthy de Esthrial, son of the noble John Peter Bouthy, deceased,—“*nobilis defuncti*”,—parliamentary lawyer, and D. [*i. e.*, Domina = Mrs.] Mary Perina Noel, daughter of William Noel, deceased.

NOTE.—*The Fr. “Phaelan” of the Register is none other than the “Rev. Laurence Peter Phelan”, for whom see our previous Notes.*

Baumann—Fox; 26th, by Rev. P. Helbron—, Charles Baumann and Sara Fox, widow.

Millet—Chaise; December 16th, by same—John Baptist Millet, born in Revuer [?], Island of St. Pierre de Martinique, [*a word illegible*], merchant, and Anna Magdalen Chaise, native of “*Nanneti*” = Nantes in France.

Marriages in 1793—16.

MARRIAGES FOR 1794.

Dunkir—Oellers, February 16th, by Rev. P. Helbron—D. Stephen Martin Dunkir, merchant, and Elizabeth Oellers, daughter of Jacob Oellers, of this parish.

Fiel [Phiel?]-Weyl; March 20th, by same—Joseph Fiel and Salome Weyl, non-Catholic.

Gerard—Piveteau; April 18th, by same—D. John Francis Gerard, M.D., eldest son of Mr. Gerard, and Catharine Thuring, born in Briey,

province of Lorraine, diocese of Metten, and Margaret Pering Piveteau, youngest daughter of D. Peter Piveteau and Margaret Condemine, of the parish of Saint Rose de la Grande Riviere of San Domingo. [*Then a word unintelligible, presumably at Cap François*].

Note.—*Following is a very indefinite entry of what seems the marriage of a girl under age (not named), whose guardian apparently was one Francis Thomas Langlois du Fosse [or, maybe Sosse], a parliamentary lawyer and dean of the lawyers of the Superior Council of San Domingo. The record is signed thus: "Peter Helbron Pastor & Miss. Amer. Sept." [i. e., Missionary of North America,] then by Langlois (as above) and twenty-two other men.*

Robert—Saladin; 11th, by same—, Dom. *i. e.*, [Dominus=Mister] Bernard Francis Robert, born in *Nanneto*—Nantes, France, and Dna. Margaret Elizabeth Saladin, born in Paris.

Crespin—Bergue; 11th, by same, Dom. Michael Remigius Crespin, apothecary of Philadelphia, and Dna. Margaret Sophia Bergue.

La Rosche [*La Roche*—Condemine; 26th, by same, D. Remigius La Rosche, M.D., born [apparently at] Dondon, Island of San Domingo, and Mary Joanna Condemine, widow of John Peter Houard, native of the Parish of La Grande Riviere, at Cap [François] in San Domingo.

[Signed]: La Roche.

Papion—Regnier; 28th, by same—Dn. John Baptist Papion, of Bouergue (Rouerque?) Jurisdiction of Montaubard, son of John Dominic Papion and Margaret Gothard, and Frances Regnier, born in Marseilles, daughter of Francis and Julia Regnier, of the West Indies.

Deboua [*Dubois?*—Bascho; 30th, by same, Louis Bernard Deboua of St. Augustine's Parish [*of the mission of the Augustinians at Fourth and Race Streets,*] and Frances Rene Bascho, of Jeremie, in the West Indies.

[Signed]: Dubois.

June.

Poincignon—Coulon; 22d—by same; Francis Poincignon, native of Pontemassoug, in Lotharingia (Lorraine), and Joanna Coulon [*Cullen?*] of Ireland.

(N.B.—Doubtless *Pont-à-Mousson* is meant for a possible intended form "Pontemassoug" as understood by the original recorder.)

Plumenieau [*Plaemeniout?*—Reuseletta; July 20th—, by same Dn. John Plumenieau, of the Province of Perigord, and Joanna Reuseletta, widow of Francis Arnoux de Bourge, of Province of Berri, in France.

Hammon—Bauduy; 21st, in Burleton [Burlington?] in New Jersey by same—Dnus. William Francis Hammon [*not Hamon?*] and Marga-

ret Felicitas Clementine Josephine Bauduy, of Cap François, in San Domingo.

Borneille—de Bellevue; August 25th—, by same, John Baptist Borneille and Mary Rose de Bellevue, of San Domingo.

Sebastian—Hendt; 28th—, by same, William Sebastian, widower, and Barbara Hendt, widow.

September.

George—Boislandry; 22d, about the hour of vespers, by same, Peter Edward Come George, son of Nicholas George and Catharine Victoria Le Grand Boislandry, daughter of Louis Le Grand Boislandry.

Forttner—Schmidt; 23d, by same, Mathew Fortner and Elizabeth Schmidt, families of both from Germany.

Simon—Jacobe; October 9th, by same, Bartholomew Simon and Elizabeth Jacobe [Jacoby?] of French birth.

Celle—Hiver; 13th, by same—Anthony Celle, son of Louis Celle, and Rosa Modeste Hiver, daughter of Nicholas Chyver [Hiver?], of the West Indies.

Beauvarlet—Bouchony; November 1st, in Bourlotong [Burlington?] by same—John Adrien Beauvarlet and Catharine Mary Anna Bouchony, of San Domingo.

Schmidt—Kals; December 23d, by same—Henry Schmidt and Rebecca Kals.

Guige—Corzay; 22d, by Rev. Do. Phaelen [Phelan]—Augustine Guige and Francis Corzay, French of San Domingo,

Moneihan [Monahan?]-Threins; 23d—by Rev. Do. Phaelen—Daniel Moneihan, of Ireland, and Catharine Threins.

Joullier [Poullier?]-Roan; 23d, by P. Helbron, John Mary Joullier, of Cap François and Mary Roan.

[*Signed*]: Mary Roan. J. M. Poullier [*sic*].

Godfroï—Bessil; 23d—, by P. Helbron, John Baptist Godfroï and Mary Bessil, of San Domingo.

Marriages in 1794: 24.

MARRIAGES FOR 1795.

Tardet de Larochell [La Rochelle?]-Gué; January 14th, by Rev. P. Helbron—Anthony Tardet de Larochell, son of Anthony Tardet, and Anna Julia Gué, daughter of John Baptist Gué, of Cap François.

Fister—Ris; February 5th, same—Amand Fister, son of Elzear Fister, and Mary Ris, of San Domingo.

Dubosq—De Val; 9th, by same,—Henry Marinus Augustus Dubosq and Sophia Madelaine De Val, French.

Osty—Norbeck; 17th, by same—Francis Osty, German, and Mary Magdalen Norbeck, American.

Reviere—Courgibet; 24th, by same—John Peter Reviere and Mary Margaret Courgibet, widow, of San Domingo.

Ferrier—Flandrin; March —, by same—Gilbert Ferrier, born at St. Poursan, and Mary Joanna Flandrin, born in [the island of] St. Vincent.

[*Signed*]: Marie Jeanne Marie Flandrin.

Henry [Henri?]-Lochler, April 9th, by same, Christopher Henry, of no religion, and Anna Lochler, Catholic.

De Tiniels—Reviere; 18th, by same—Nicholas de Tiniels, son of John Philip de Tiniels, Counsellor of the Parliament of Nancy, in France, and his wife Jeanne Susanna D'Aubry, and Mary Anna Reviere, eldest daughter of John (deceased) and Mary Anna Bouteau Reviere, of Cap François.

[*Signed*]: De Finiels. Mary Anna Reviere. Maydieu. P. Egeon. Dauny. Armit Brown. E. P. Godefroy. B. Reux. Tannerez. Stilite.

Seyvett—Simony [Simonet?]; May 3d, by same,—Peter Seyvett and Cunegunda Simony.

Prabaut—Diederichs; 5th, by same—Peter Prabaut, of France, and Mary Elizabeth Diederichs, of San Domingo.

[*Signed*]: Brabaut. E. tiedrich [*sic*]. Amand Pfister.

Motere—Sauvaget; 25th, by same—Joseph Motere, of Bordeaux, France, and Anna Sauvaget, of Nantes, France, refugees from San Domingo.

Weis—Theis; June 1st, by same—John Weis, Lutheran, and Mary Theis, Catholic.

[The following entry has been crossed out. It is numbered the 58th in the Register.—F. X. R.]

Loyaute—Duclor [Duclos?]; 2d, by same—John Baptist Louis Loyaute, born at Metz (Metis), in France, and Adelaide Duclor, of San Domingo.

[*Signed*]: Adelaide Duclos.

Brugniens—Munier; June 2d, by same—Bernard Brugniens, born in Puygaillard, in Gascony, and Frances Munier, widow of Rouier, born Dhauyoutemes [?].

Mecelar—Sinnes [McLaurin—Sennas]; 11th, by same—Duntcin [Duncan] McLaurin, Protestant, English, [Scotch?] and Margaret Sinnes, [Sennas].

[*Signed*]: Margrett Sennas. Duncan McLaurin.

Julier—Monni; 28th, by same—Honorius Julier, French, and Mary Margaret Monni, born in Paris, [in France].

Treillier—Mennier; 21st, by Rev. D. Phaelen—Joseph Treillier and Mary Henrietta Mennier, daughter of Charles Mennier.

Cassaigne—Faucennet; 16th, by Rev. Phaelen,—Sylvanus Cassaigne, son of Abri Cassaigne, Department of the Gironde, and his wife

- Joanna Carre, and Teresa, Daughter of Denis and Mary Louisa Gailleret Faucennet.
- Dubois—Bacque; 29th, by Rev. Helbron—George Simon Dubois, twenty-six years old, born in Paris, [France], and Catharine Bacque, born in Valence, Department of Languedoc, [France].
- Bourditton [Bourdillon?]-Darguey; July 15th, by R. D. Phaelen, Louis Bourditton and Grassi [Grace?] Darguey; [*then apparently another marriage entry*: “intronizati sunt”, *reads the record*]: of John Anthony Cazeneove, Lutheran, and Mary Hogan, Catholic.
- Lochler—Schwartz; 19th by Rev. P. Helbron—Henry Lochler, widower, and Catharine Schwartz, widow, Lutheran.
- Angue—Lang; 18th, by Rev. P. Helbron—John Angue, born in Montmoreau, France, of Thomas and Mary Labotin Angue, and Amelia Lang, non-Catholic.
- Drautt—Minot; August 3d—, by same—Julian Oliver Drautt, son of Jerome Drautt and his wife Julia Perain, French; and Marie Madalaine Minot, daughter of Peter and Colerine Coville Minot of the Province of Normandy, France.
- Schauvett [Chauvett —Coupigny; September 23d—, by same—Jacob Maurice Schauvett and Mary Lucille Fortunata Coupigny, all of Cap François [in San Domingo.]
- Bender—Biel [Bril?]; 27th—, by same—Jacob Bender, Catholic, and Catharine Biel, widow, Lutheran.
- Bourguet—Pitray; October 6th—, by same—John Bourguet, son of John and Anna Marie Auverny Bourguet, and Genevieve Pitray, daughter of John Francis Simon and Genevieve Raulin Pitray, all of San Domingo.
[*Signed*]: Pitray. de la Roche. Jean Bourguet. Raulin de Pitray. Clodine Pitray. Grassi M. D. J. Loup. Jean Testart. Hess. St. Giuly Elaine Lespinasse.
- Corneille—French; November 9th, by same—Stephen Corneille and Salome French, American.
[*Signed*]: Sarah French. Etienne Corneille. Mary Wallace.
- Druin [?] de Bercy.
- Seitz—Ferdinand; 26th, by same—Francis Seitz and Elizabeth Ferdinand, widow, both Germans.
- Corvassier—Daumond; December 9th, by same [?] Bartholomew Corvassier and Josephine Daumond,—of Cap François in San Domingo.
- Marriages in 1795—29.

MARRIAGES FOR 1796.

- Ridesheim [*Rüdesheim?*]-Berg; January 3d—, by Rev. P. Helbron—John Ridesheim and Catharine Berg.
- Doept—Schmidt; 5th, by same—John Doept and Margaret Schmidt, widow.

Note: Here follow three entries without the signature of the priest; they are all by Father Peter Helbron.—F. X. R.

Dom [Dorn?]-Jung; 5th, by same,—after Vespers, George Dom, Lutheran, and Magdalen Jung, Catholic.

Thirion—Delorme; 11th, by same, after Vespers, Michael Thirion, son of Francis and Mary Vignau Thirion, French,—and Joanna (*Jeanne*) Delorme, daughter of John and Margaret Gué Delorme of Bordeaux, France.

Thambon—Thurgill; 11th, by same—Bernard Thambon, born in Canada, and Margaret Thurgill, American.

Arnauld—Payvot [*Payvor?*]; 12th, by same—John Baptist Benjamin Arnauld and Frances Elizabeth Amelia Payvor.

[*Signed*]: E. F. A. Payvol [*sic*]. Lafarge Payvor. Bde Arnauld, A. C. Payvor. J Pavor.

Ruvert—Langeay; 31st, by same, after Vespers—Edmund Ruvert and Christine Langeay.

Morell—Paquoi; [February?] 2d—by same—John Morell and Anna Paquoi.

[*Signed*]: A M Paquoi. Lafarge Paquoi.

Duvivier—Unix; February 17th, by same, Louis Duvivier and Mary Margaret Unix, born in Philadelphia.

Porter—Wagener [*Wagner?*]; 21st, by same—Alexander Porter and Mary Wagener, widow.

Laugier—Millot; 23d, by same—Andrew Laugier, of Marseilles, inhabitant of the West Indies, and Ottilia Millot, of Paris.

Wercy—Chevernet; March 3d, by same—Louis Joseph Wercy, son of Louis Honorius and Margaret Libert Wercy; and Catharine Frances Sophia Chevernet, daughter of Francis Joseph and Mary Elizabeth Margaret Fullou Chevernet, all of France.

[*Signed*]: Honore. Soyer. Joseph Castillon. C. F. Sophie Chevernet. Wercy.

Simond—Grenon; 10th, by same—Joseph Simond, of Chamounix, in Switzerland, son of Joseph Mary Simond and Michaelis Devasse, his wife; and Cecilia Agatha de Grenon, born in Penzance, France, daughter of Laurence and Elizabeth Maisonneur de Grenon.

Decampe—Bue [*Brie?*]; April 1st, by same, after Vespers, Clement Benedict Decampe, born at Toulon, in France, and Anna Antoinette Bue, born in Paris.

Lucain—Beckell [*Bickel?*]; 5th, by same—Louis Lucain, French, and Elizabeth Beckell.

Plumberg [*Plomberg?*]-Corneille; 11th, by same, after Vespers—Peter Plumberg and Louisa Corneille, French.

Ballay—Corneille; 11th, by same, after Vespers, John Baptist Ballay [*Bailly?*] and Mary Charlotte Corneille, French.

[*Signed*]: Pierre Blomberg. J Bapt. Bailly. Charlotte Corneille. J. J. Coudree. M. Gatier. Masson.

- Noblo—Lanzinger; 14th, by same—Francis Noblo, French, and Mary Magdalen Lanzinger.
- Fromborn—Brunod; 14th, by same—Peter Fromborn, French, and Elizabeth Brunod, American.
- Ruhr [*Roure?*—Seiz; 18th, by same—Francis Ruhr, of Aix, in France, and Elizabeth Siez, of Honau [*sic, but Hanau*] in Germany.
[*Signed*]: Roure.
- Reinhard—Frull, May 1st, by same—Jacob Reinhard, non-Catholic, and Susanna Frull, Catholic.
[*Signed*]: Jacob Reinhard. Susanna Frull. Peter Regimenter.
- Benner—Salome, on the 5th, thirty years old, and Peter Benner; by Rev. P. Helbron.
- Chauriage—Marchesseau; 7th, by same—John Baptist Chauriage and Anna Marchesseau, of Bordeaux, France.
- Lister [*Leitz?*—Felix; July 21st, by same, Robert Marinus Lister, French, and — Felix, of Reading, in Berks County, Pennsylvania.
[*Signed*]: Robert Mareinz Leitz. Cath. Felix.
- Gaterau—Clavel; August 2d, by same,—Louis Roger Armand Gaterau, of Montauban, France, and Mary Louisa Clavel, of San Domingo.
[*Signed*]: Louis Roger Amand Gaterau. M. Louisa Clavel. Louis Morel. Laplaine. Clavet Montes.
- Anderson—Kuhn; 7th, by same—Patrick Anderson and Elizabeth Kuhn [*Keen?*]
[*Signed*]: Pat Anderson Elizabeth Keen.
- Lanzinger—Strunck; 9th, by same—Jacob Lanzinger and Gertrude Strunck.
- Melony [*Maloney?*—Wilhelms; 19th, by same—Peter Melony, of Ireland, and Helen Wilhelms.
- Le Moene [*Le Moyne?*—Baldesky; 18th, by same—Anthony Le Moene and Amelia Baldesky, French.
- Hoffmann—Gulliner; September 4th, by same—George Hoffmann, Catholic, and Catharine Gulliner, Lutheran.
- De Bellevue—Marest [*Muriet?*]; 26th, by same—Robert De Bellevue and Mary Anna George Marest, of San Domingo.
[*Signed*]: Robt De Bellevue Marie George Muriet J. G. Marcet Crae. Briann aine (*ainé*) Boyert Corneille aine (*ainé*)
- Fox—Schardt; 2d, by same—Michael Fox and Mary Schardt, widow.
- Roger—Sopin [*Saupin?*]; 11th, by same—Jacob Roger and Mary Elizabeth Bahon Sopin, of San Domingo.
[*Signed*]: Ve Saupin [Ve: *i. e.*, *Veuve*: widow] Jacques Roger.
- Schillingfort [*Shillingford?*—Abt [*Apt*]; 13th—by same—Jacob Schillingfort and Mary Abt.
[*Signed*]: James Shillingford. Mary Apt. Mary Hookey. Adam Schneider. George Apt

Collet—Gellez; October 28th, by same—Claude Charles Mary Collet and Anastasia Philippine Josephine Gellez, of San Domingo.

Seguin—Rys; 13th, by same—Andrew Seguin and Elizabeth Rys, of San Domingo.

[*Signed*]: Andre Seguin. Elizabeth Rys. Marie Rys. Amand Pfister.

Colom—Creneval; 12th, by same—John Colom of Desbos, in France, and Mary Creneval, of Strasburg, in Alsace.

[*Signed*]: J. Colom. Marie Comb. Pierre Greffin. Geyaux. J. Lacombe

Marriages in 1796—37.

MARRIAGES FOR 1797.

Cordeil—Lefevre; January 2d—, by Rev. P. Helbron—Louis Cordeil of Corsica, Italy, and Elizabeth Lefevre, of Paris.

La Salle—Bassleth [*Beasley*?]; 20th, by same—John La Salle, of Bayonne, France, and Elizabeth Beasley.

[*Signed*]: Eliza Beasley John La Salle. Sarah Bassitt.

Bye—Therre [*Terry*?]; 24th, by same—Peter Francis Bye, French, and Letitia [*Lydia*?] Therre, American.

[*Signed*]: Baillet (*sic*) Lydia Terry Mathias Krebel Marianna Krebel

Jeard—Gaillard; 25th, by same—Joseph L— Jeard, born in Martigne, France, son of Louis Jeard and his wife Magdalen Reibaud; and Eugenia Gaillard, daughter of Bernard, deceased, and Margaret Lambert Gaillard, widow.

Hartmann—Stein; February 19th, by same—Jacob Hartmann and Elizabeth Stein, Calvinist, born in Germany.

Breyen [*Brian*?]—Manerfield [*Mansfield*?]; March 5th—by same—John Breyen, of Ireland, and Catharine Manerfield, widow.

[*Signed*]: John Brien Cath Mansfield

Cobet—Lefeber; 20th, by same, Daniel Cobet, of Amsterdam, and Catharine Lefeber, widow, born in Utrecht [*in Holland*.]

[*Signed*]: D. Cobet—Catrano Lefeber—Daniel Carroll

Brauer—Welsh; April 20th, by same, Clarus Brauer, of Holland, and Anna Welsh, of Ireland.

[*Signed*]: Clarus Brauer Anna Welsh Timothy Cashman.

Despernay—Morel; 23d, by same—Francis Anthony Despernay, of Montmirail, France, and Louisa Frances Morel, of “Aey” [*Aix*?], in France.

[*Signed*]: Louise Françoise Morel F A Despenias

Gruver [*Gruber*?]—Siegfried; August 28th, in Reading, in Pennsylvania, by same—Philip Gruver, non-Catholic, son of Christian Gruver and his wife Susanna, and Barbara Siegfried, widow.

Henry—Du Pont; October 8th, by same—Louis Bernard Henry and Mary Du Pont, of San Domingo.

Bartholoss—Wertheuser; 14th, by same—John Bartholoss and Elizabeth Wertheuser, Hollanders.

[*Signed*]: Gerrett Nieuwkamp

Simonnet—Toussaint Garrau; 31st, by same—John Claude Simonnet, of age, born in Paris, son of John Anthony and Mary Catharine Durand Simonnet, both deceased, and Mary Magdalen Toussaint, widow of Paul Carrau, born in Noueras, in "Saintoga" [*sic*, but Saintonge?] daughter of Francis Toussaint and wife, Mary Guichard, both deceased.

Cadez—Ribau; (November?) 8th, by same—John Baptist Cadez, French, and Catharine Ribau, American.

Quinton—Jacquin; December 16th, by same—Francis Rene Quinton, eldest son of Rene Quinton and his wife Mary Esther Pelletier, on the one part, and Joanna Jacquin, daughter of Francis and Joanna [*Jeanne?*] De Vernois, natives of France.

Marriages in 1797—15.

MARRIAGES FOR 1798,

Bouvier—Braun; January 6th, by Rev. P. Helbron—John Baptist Bouvier and Jeannette Braun, of Hamburg.

du Rocher—Diesbach; 10th, by same—Claude Laurence Huron du Rocher, born in *Nanneto* (Nantes), in France, of Peter Huron du Rocher and his wife Margaret Hamary, and Agatha Angelica Helena Diesbach, widow of William Joseph Defaur, born in *Bononia* (Boulogne), in France, and daughter of Joseph and Mary Wildeck Diesbach, deceased.

Blumenstock—Durang; 29th, by same—Michael Blumenstock and Barbara Durang.

Thompson—Durang; 29th, by same—Alexander Thompson and Rebecca Durang.

Durang—Weill; March 21st, by same—Jacob Durang and Catharine Weill.

[*Signed*]: Jacob Durang. Kitty Will. Eliz Hughlett. Gemes Guillou.

Marbell [*Marabello?*]—Weyer; April 10th, by same—Joseph Marbell, Catholic, born in Italy, and Elizabeth Weyer, Lutheran, born in Germany.

[*Signed*]: Giuseppe Marabello. Eliz. Weyer. Adam Snyder. Mary Snyder.

Depuet—La Beginn; 21st, by same—John Baptist Depuet and Mary Genevieve La Beginn, of San Domingo.

Lacombe—de Foschee; 24th, by same—Peter Lacombe and Henrietta de Foschee, of San Domingo.

[*Signed*]: LaCombe. Latopie. Ducoing.

Latopie—Priot; [May?] 18th, by same—Peter Latopie and Lunetta Ve (*i. e.*, *veuve*, widow) Priot, of San Domingo.

[Signed as preceding.]

De Claire [Declary?]-Benner; June 21st, by same—Peter de Claire (a Campill?) and Catharine Benner, of Dantzic, in Germany.

[Signed]: Peter DeClary.

Loetir [?]-Ronny [Rooney?]; August 26th, by same—Benjamin Loetir and Eleanor Ronny, Catholics.

Tribbu—Garring; September 8th, by same—Francis Tribbu and Susan Garring.

Braun [Brown?]-Weil; 24st, by same—Thomas Braun, of Ireland, and Deborah Weil, widow.

Pollit—Cruttia; 22d, by same—John Joseph Pollit and Mary Josephine Cruttia, negroes.

D'autruhy—Clavier; 22d, by same—A. J. D'autruhy and Sophia Clavier.

Le Grand—Gerot; 24th, by same—Augustus Alexander Le Grand and Margaret Frances Gerot, widow.

Marriages in 1798—16.

MARRIAGES FOR 1799.

McGinnelly [McGinley?]-McFaudelly; January 7th, by same—Cornelius McGinnelly and Margaret McFaudelly, of Ireland.

[Signed]: Cornelius McGinnelly (*sic*). Margaret Mcfaundally (*sic*).

Rerdon [Reardon?]-Lybeck; February 10th, by same—William Rerdon and Margaret Lybeck.

Doffy [Duffy?]-McGovern; 19th, by same—William Doffy and Margaret McGovern, of Ireland.

Schneiderly [Schneider?]-Linsch [Lynch?]; March 3, by same—Charles Augustus Schneiderly, and Margaret Linsch, born in Ireland, of St. Kitts [*in West Indies*] bapt. in Cap François, in San Domingo.

(N. B.—The affix *li*, possibly Anglicized above as *ly*, is quite common in Provincial German.)

Heily [Heil?]-Hendler; April 14th, by same—Caspar Heily and Mary Hendler, widow, Lutheran.

Car [Carney?]-Brady; 28th, by same—Thady [Thaddeus?] Car and Mary Brady widow.

[Signed]: Thady Carney. Mary Carney. Barney Mulligan

Schoman—Foelix [Felix?]; June 27th, by same Peter Schoman, French, and Catharine Foelix, of Reading, in Pennsylvania.

Mestmennes [McManus?]-Reilly; July 8th, by same—Cornelius Mestmennes and Mary Reilly, of Ireland.

Jousse—Georgiou; 9th, by same—John Jousse and Julia Georgiou, French.

Camy [Camye?]-Doussan [*Dawson?*]; 13th, by same-Jacob Camy, French, and Margaret Dousson, widow, English.

[*Signed*]: Marg. Dawson (*sic*).

Overy-Raft [Ralph?]; August 10th, by same-John Overy and Jane Ralph.

[*Signed*]: John Overy. Jane Ralph (*sic*).

Gravelle-Morel; 22d-by same-Rene John Gravelle and Louisa Morel, French.

NOTE.—The three Baptisms for 1792 (?), of which mention was made in our Prefatory Notes, must be reckoned among the contents of the Marriage Register for the year 1792.

Marriages in 1799—12.

Total Marriages from 1791 to 1799—157.

LIFE OF BISHOP CONWELL

BY MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

CHAPTER II

ARRIVAL OF BISHOP CONWELL. HIS LIFE. RECORD OF HIS CONSECRATION. HIS FIRST DAY IN PHILADELPHIA. HOGAN'S SERMON. UNIVERSAL CONDEMNATION. HE REPEATS HIS OFFENSE. IS DEPRIVED OF HIS FACULTIES.

IT was known throughout this summer of 1820 that on 26 November, 1819, the Rev. Henry Conwell, D. D., Vicar General of Armagh, had been appointed Bishop of Philadelphia. He was born (c.) 1745 at Moneymore, Londonderry, Ireland: ordained priest in 1776, and was Vicar General of Armagh for twenty-five years previous to his appointment to Philadelphia. The See of Philadelphia had been vacant nearly six years; several priests nominated for the bishopric had declined; whereas one, at least, who was suggested, the Rev. William V. Harold, had been refused by the Propaganda. How Father Conwell came to receive and accept the unenviable appointment is thus explained in a pamphlet issued during the sad controversy, now so soon to rise.

We quote from "Brief remarks addressed to a Catholic Layman on his late *Address* by a Protestant Episcopalian" (page 14):

This Right Reverend gentleman was for many years, immediately previous to his coming to Philadelphia, Vicar-Gen-

eral under the Right Rev. Dr. O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland. On the death of Dr. O'Reilly, Dr. Conwell was acting Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland. At a meeting of the clergy of the whole diocese he was unanimously recommended as a fit and proper person to be appointed in the place of Dr. O'Reilly. Dr. Curtis, who for forty years had been President of the College of Salamanca, had educated the remaining three Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, and they wrote to Rome urging his appointment as Archbishop of Armagh. Dr. Curtis was also strenuously recommended to Cardinal Consalvi by the British Ministers, who were hostile to the appointment of Dr. Conwell on account of his liberal opinions on political subjects. When the appointment was before the Propaganda Fidei at Rome, Cardinal Consalvi wrote to them that it was his wish that Dr. Curtis be appointed. An inquiry was then made whether Cardinal Consalvi expressed that wish as Secretary of State to His Holiness, the Pope, or as a member of the Propaganda? He replied: As a member of the Propaganda. The body then proceeded to ballot for the Primate of all Ireland, and Dr. Curtis was chosen, being one vote ahead of Dr. Conwell.

The latter gentleman was then offered the Bishoprics of Madras or Philadelphia. He chose the latter, where he lives in a state a little removed from indigence; whereas had he sought the exercise of authority he would have gone to Madras where he would have had upwards of two thousand priests under his jurisdiction and would have been in the receipt of a princely income.

Other sources give the same version as to how the appointment came to be made.

He was consecrated in London by Bishop Poynter, on September 24, 1829. Shea (Vol. III, p. 228) gives St. Bartholomew's day, August 24; but the following document, obtained from official sources in London, fixes that and other details of the consecration.

Guilielmus, *etc.*, universis praesentes inspecturis notum facimus et attestamur, quod die datae praesentium, Dominica 18 post Pentecosten, in Festo. B. V. M. de Mercede, Missam in Pontificalibus celebrantes, in sacello nostro privato, Londini assistentibus, loco duorum Episcoporum Rev. Dno. Jacobo Yorke Bramston et Rev. Dno. Josepho Carpus Illo. ac Rmo. Dno. Henrico Conwell electo et confirmato Episcopo Ecclesiae Philadelphia in foederatis Americae provinciis munus consecrationis Episcopalis, secundum Litteras Apostolicas in forma Brevis die 26 Novembris 1819 datas emissa prius ab eodem Fidei professione at praestito juramento a S. Sede praescripto, impendimus, eumque in Episcopum Philadelphae rite et canonice, adjuvante Deo, consecravimus. In quorum fidem has praesentes, manibus duorum Presbyterorum atque etiam secretarii nostri subscripta manu nostra signavimus et sigillo nostro munivimus hac die 24 Septembris anno Domini 1820. Ex aedibus nostris, Londini.

(L. S.) (Signed) GULIELMUS EPUS. HALIENSIS,
Vic. Apost. Londinensis.

(Signed) JACOBUS YORKE BRAMSTON
JOSEPHUS CARPUS
Presbyteri Assistentes.

De mandato, *etc.*

FR. TUTE, Secretarius.

I, the undersigned hereby certify that what is written on the next leaf is a faithful transcript made by me of a paper in the handwriting of the Right Rev. William Poynter, Bishop of Halis, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, which is fastened into a register of Consecrations, Ordinations, *etc.*, kept at Archbishop's House, Westminster, which is apparently a copy of a certificate given to the newly consecrated Bishop.

In the paper many of the words are abbreviated but I have transcribed them in full.

Given at Archbishop's House, Westminster, in England, on the fifth day of September in the year 1895.

W. A. JOHNSTON,
Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Westminster,
Secretary to His Eminence, CARDINAL VAUGHAN.

Note.—The Rev. James Yorke Bramston who assisted at Bishop Conwell's Consecration in 1820, was himself consecrated in 1823; and after the death of Bishop Poynter in 1827, he succeeded him as Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

W. A. Johnston.

To F. X. REUSS.

The foregoing certificate may be rendered as follows :

William, *etc.*, to all who shall peruse these presents we do certify and attest, that on the day and date of these presents, the Eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost and Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy, while celebrating Pontifical Mass in our private chapel in London; where there assisted us in the place of two Bishops, the Rev. James Yorke Bramston and the Rev. Joseph Carpus : we bestowed on the Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Henry Conwell, as elected and approved Bishop of Philadelphia in the United States of America, the gift of Episcopal Consecration, according to Apostolic Letters in the form of a Brief dated 26 November 1819; he having previously made profession of faith and tendered the oath prescribed by the Holy See : whom we then duly and canonically, so helping us God, have consecrated Bishop of Philadelphia. In faith whereof we have signed and sealed with our own hand these presents, already signed by the hands of the two priests and likewise by our secretary, on this twenty-fourth day of September in the Year of Our Lord 1820. Given at our residence in London.

(Signed) WILLIAM, *Bp. of Halis,*
Vic. Apost. of London.

(Signed) JAMES YORKE BRAMSTON,
JOSEPH CARPUS,
Assisting Priests.

By mandate, *etc.*, FR. TUIE, *Secretary.*

For some light on Bishop Conwell's character and personality, we may refer to a passage in Father Jordan's *Woodstock Letters*, January, 1874.

At the beginning of December, 1820, Right Rev. Henry Conwell, D. D., second Bishop of Philadelphia, arrived at St. Joseph's, and immediately began his pastoral duties. His first record reads :

Die 5 Iobris (<i>Decembris</i>)	CORNELIUS STEEL, filius Jac. et
a R. R. H. CONWELL,	Elizae, natus Philadae. Sep-
Epo Phae.	tembris die 20. Susceptus fuit
	a Sara Bowles Sola.

Poor Bishop Conwell, his was an eventful life. When he was appointed Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Armagh, he thought his ambition satisfied, but when offered the Bishopric of Philadelphia, though at an age when most men are thinking to retire and prepare for death, he was ready to say : Lo, here I am, send me. One of his first acts upon receiving the announcement of his appointment was to write to his eldest niece to accompany him to America, saying that she had been servant long enough to her brothers and sisters, now she should be mistress in the palace of her uncle, the Lord Bishop. One of Bishop Conwell's greatest mistakes was to surround himself with so many nieces and nephews.

Bishop Conwell was a man of no mean ability; his Latinity was classical, and especially his ecclesiastical Latin was much admired. He was a Greek Scholar, spoke French fluently, and Spanish and Italian with but little difficulty. His knowledge of theology, moral and dogmatic, was solid, and he had not neglected the Study of Canon Law. Unfortunately he was not a fluent preacher in his native language : but it must not be supposed that he was an ungrammatical or inelegant speaker. Those pamphlets that were so numerous some years ago, purporting to be reports of his sermons at St. Mary's, were the productions of his enemies,—of John T. Sullivan and John Ashley ; or it was supposed so at the time. The Bishop's personal appearance was not unpleasing. When he arrived he was over seventy, tall, straight, muscular, and, when occasion required, not deficient in dignity. Though of uncertain temper, he was kind-hearted, forgiving, and as bountiful giver. Had he possessed the eloquence, or even

the polished manner of William Vincent Harold, the misstep of the very Rev. Ludovicus Barth would not have been so prolific of evil.

According to Mathew Carey, it was on December 2, 1820, that Bishop Conwell reached Philadelphia and took possession of his See. The evidence affords no record of any greeting tendered him on that day, Saturday, or on the Sunday following; although we may well suppose that a great throng of people attended High Mass to see the new Bishop.

This was Bishop Conwell's first sight of his Cathedral and of his flock. We may rest assured that yonder Sunday morning found the faithful in a happy, if not a joyful frame of mind; now that their long and weary waiting for a Bishop was at an end. Yet no sooner had noon passed, of that same Sunday, December 3, 1820, hardly twenty-four hours after the Bishop's advent, when gloomy dejection prevailed; for dissension had already entered St. Mary's, and worse impended. In short, the seeds of schism were sown broadcast in a sermon by the Reverend William Hogan, who preached at that Sunday's High Mass in St. Mary's Church. On this occasion he made a severe and sour attack on Father de Barth, then seated in the very sanctuary to which he had admitted Father Hogan as pastor. In short, the Hogan feud had begun to assume permanent force in the way of disrupting an already troubled congregation: thanks to still scandalizing effects of past strife and contention between people and clergy.

Just what the preacher then said in the guise of personal attack, has not been preserved in any of the records; at all events, his remarks were not defended by either side in the conflict, then or later. Both factions appeared to agree that his onslaught merited only con-

demnation. So it may be safely asserted that Hogan, favorite though he was, had no advocate on that Sunday noon, even among those people who subsequently, when they believed him overborne with false accusations, and unduly chastened by the Bishop, evinced their attachment for him by going to unjustified extremes in their partisan defence of him. However, we have no clear nor consecutive account of what ensued in the course of that fateful week of the virulent sermon. We may simply infer from the sequent proceedings, and from what the Bishop and others afterwards said, that the new Prelate was deeply offended at the like unwarranted attack upon an aged priest whose labors and trials, endured in behalf of the Diocese, ought to have shielded him from all such open denunciation: let alone the time and place of its tactless delivery. It is held that the bishop, to begin with, had heard of some delinquencies of Hogan's in Ireland; whilst undoubtedly, during this week, he would have heard from the priests of the Diocese, if not, as well, from certain of the laity, concerning charges against Hogan's conduct in Philadelphia prior to the Bishop's arrival. As noted in the preceding chapter, we have no formal record of those charges. But it is nevertheless plain that the Bishop became convinced of Hogan's unfitness to continue his priestly functions; convinced that this behavior had conduced to scandal, and that if still guiltless of known immorality, yet his priestly character had become seriously compromised. In defiance of his vows of chastity, Hogan's admiration for the "fair sex" had caused him to incur the reproof, administered by the Bishop himself in presence of the congregation (albeit with visible reluctance), that "no young woman was safe in a room alone with him." Not only from covert hints, in fine, which have come down to us, but from those express words of the

Bishop, it is manifest that the latter believed Hogan to be culpably immoral and a fomenter of scandals, had his action gained full publicity. It was for such reasons, as the Bishop afterwards declared, that he decided to deprive Hogan of his faculties in Philadelphia, without waiting for some overt cause to give notorious justification for the episcopal procedure.

Had the Bishop been aware of what was to follow, no doubt he would have adopted another policy. Had he been informed of the existing elements of discord; of Hogan's readiness to go the length of sacrilege; of the congregation's blind attachment to their favorite, and the trustees' disposition to use all means, even schism, to enable them to get control of the clergy, then, indeed, the Bishop might have seen fit to disclose the whole truth, risking the danger of a minor scandal in preference to the much graver sequels. His actual determination, however, appears to have been prompted by motives of charity alike for Hogan and the people. Meanwhile he required Hogan to leave the house occupied by himself alone and furnished for him by the congregation, and to return to St. Joseph's clergy house. This was arranged with a view, presumably, towards watching Hogan's movements, thereby restraining him from pursuit of temptation. But Hogan flatly refused, and the die for schism was cast.

Nor was the overt act, anticipated by the Bishop, slow to ensue. Notwithstanding his errors of the past Sunday, Hogan again preached on Sunday, December 10, using further offensive language, which the Bishop construed as open defiance of his episcopal authority. Here, too, the records leave us insufficiently informed concerning the particulars of Hogan's offence; but its general import may be gathered from a letter of Bishop Conwell's to Archbishop Maréchal, dated December 11, 1820, and alluding to "the conduct of Hogan yesterday."

“He will conduct the congregation without advice or instructions from the Bishop to whom he preferred to be respectful, whilst he said he disregarded him in everything relating to church affairs or what concerned his duty as a clergyman, further saying that there were now three of them and each must take equal share of the labor in his turn.”¹

It was later charged that Hogan had “preached a doctrine contrary to that of the Roman Catholic Church.” “I deny,” said Hogan, “having preached any such doctrine and I challenge him to prove it.” What he did say he reports as follows: “I understand that some persons wish to designate my place of residence, and even the society I shall have. To obviate this, allow me to assure you I would regret any such interference, as I am determined not to allow neither you nor your Bishop, nor any other Bishop, to designate my place of residence, as it is already where it should be, in the centre of the parish; and further permit me to tell you that as there are now three clergymen in the parish, each as well remunerated for his trouble as I am, I will preach on every third Sunday morning and every Sunday in the afternoon.” “Where,” he asks in his pamphlet, part second, “is the heresy in that? Where the error of faith?”

What else he said we have no means of knowing; but by his own admission he had defied the Bishop’s authority in the regulation of parish affairs, and had given public scandal by his unruly tactics. And this was the specific charge assigned as ground for the withdrawal of his faculties. The offence was not so great in itself as not to have been atoned for by that apology and obedience which his followers afterwards declared him ready to render; in so much that the Bishop’s course in refusing

¹ Archives of Baltimore.

such offers tended to persuade Hogan's friends that he was treated harshly, if not unjustly.

On Tuesday, December 12, the Bishop called the priests of the city together, and in their presence informed Hogan that his faculties were withdrawn. No pretence of a formal trial seems to have been made; the clergy being summoned, it would appear, merely to witness the Bishop's act. The following "Notes of testimony supplied by J. R. Ingersoll, Counsel for Hogan," as published on February 1, 1823, in "A Catholic Layman's Address to the Bishop of Pennsylvania," acquaint us with Father Hurley's account of what occurred:

After we arrived in the room Mr. Hogan was sent for. He was just finishing Mass. He came in. The Bishop remarked he was about to perform a painful duty and though Vicar General for many years in Ireland he had never been constrained to perform it but twice before. Mr. H. did not seem to suspect what was about to take place and on the Bishop's proceeding appeared agitated. The Bishop assigned as the cause, some highly disrespectful language he was said to have used the Sunday previous, which he considered a defiance of his episcopal authority. Mr. Hogan replied he had not used any language that was disrespectful. The Bishop replied it was not only indecorous but insulting: to which Mr. Hogan replied that he either forgot or was unjustly misrepresented. The Bishop replied that he was not going to lose his temper with him, advised him to study humility and obedience and to leave off his dandyism, made some observations respecting Mr. Hogan's pride, to which he replied that he had no pride. Then the Bishop asked Mr. Hogan if he did not acknowledge that he was removable *ad nutum episcopi*? He acknowledged he was twice, perhaps three times. Mr. Hogan then required to have in writing what had taken place, from the Bishop, which he declined. Mr. Hogan urged the Bishop twice or thrice to assign all the causes for withdrawing his faculties. He assigned no other but disrespect to himself and the Vicar

General. The Bishop in conclusion advised him to go to Dr. England's diocese. Mr. Hogan replied that he would do as he thought proper. He did not want his advice. The Bishop remarked again that he knew he held him at defiance, but he would show that he held him at defiance. Mr. Hogan remarked that he would lay a statement before the congregation and the public at large. The Bishop requested him not to do so. The Bishop gave him to understand that he withdrew all his faculties of acting as a Catholic priest, in our presence. Mr. Hogan, I think, asked him if he withdrew all. He answered that all were withdrawn.

In a pamphlet issued in 1824 and undoubtedly compiled by the Bishop,¹ his motive for thus proceeding is explained as follows: that in the interval between Hogan's admission by Father de Barth "until the Bishop should arrive," he was "discovered to be a man who could not be trusted with the care of souls; which came to the knowledge of the Bishop on his arrival. It might have been the Bishop's duty to withdraw his faculties from him immediately, but he judged it more prudent to wait until this assurance should be manifested by some overt act, which soon came to pass, in the presence of a numerous congregation, and this obliged the Bishop to refuse to grant him faculties."

M. F., who on April 12, 1821, issued "An Explanation of some canon Laws" declares (p. 9): "Dr. Conwell was privately informed of his (Hogan's) misconduct; the charitable Prelate hoped for amendment and therefore enjoined him to come and live in the Priests' house that he might have less occasion to trespass and that he might be under his paternal inspection."

On the other hand, Mr. John T. Sullivan, who took prominent part in the subsequent events, made an affi-

¹ *Concatenation*, p. 59.

davit on January 12, 1821, according to which the Bishop expressly denied any motive but those of punishing Hogan for his language in his sermon, and bringing about his exodus from the diocese.

Having heard of the suspension of the Rev. William Hogan by the Right Rev. Bishop Conwell, previously to taking any part in the occurrences I lost no time in calling on the Bishop, in order that my conduct in relation to this lamentable circumstance might not proceed from the reports or opinions of persons unacquainted with the facts. Having expressed to the Bishop my extreme regret that the congregation had been deprived of the services of Mr. Hogan, and that I presumed after a little reflection and attention to the wishes of congregation, he would see the propriety of restoring Mr. Hogan to his functions; that it would be attended with unpleasant feelings for Mr. Hogan to leave the place under censure, that many persons would be likely to draw unfavorable inferences from his suspension, as well as his abrupt departure from the city; the Bishop observed that he had nothing against Mr. Hogan, that there was a vacancy in Alexandria, and that he would give him letters, and pave his way to be admitted as pastor; and would remove the suspension on his departure for any other diocese; he would not have him here; because should he restore Mr. H., he would only use his influence to make himself more popular. I observed that, I thought, should the Bishop reinstate Mr. Hogan, I had no doubt but he would take counsel from past experience; but should he, contrary to my expectations, transgress, the power of again suspending remained with the Bishop unimpaired; and I was very sure if he found it necessary to exercise it, he would be supported by the congregation. To which the Bishop replied, that he did not want him here, he had no right here, but would remove the suspension provided he left this place; that he had a light pair of heels, and a clean pair of breeches, and the world was wide for him. This conversation took place about the 15th of December 1820.

About the 27th of December I again called upon the Bishop, with a view of bringing about a reconciliation, and to impress upon the Bishop's mind the necessity as well as the propriety of consulting the wishes of the congregation in restoring Mr. Hogan to his clerical functions. I told him that I now spoke to him the voice of the congregation, to which he ought to listen with attention; that they considered Mr. Hogan an ornament to his profession, that all ranks were attached to him, and being deprived of him, for the cause assigned, they could not be reconciled. The Bishop observed that he had nothing against Mr. Hogan, except what he said in the pulpit; the Rev. Mr. Kenny, then in the room, observed that the Bishop wished it to be distinctly understood that he disclaimed any other objection to Mr. Hogan, excepting his language in the pulpit. The Bishop then observed these were his only objections, as he had paid no attention to reports, believing them to be unfounded; adding that Mr. Hogan was a man of talents, and he would be a very useful man in another diocese, but he did not want him here, because he would be Bishop and not himself. In the above statement I have not only given the substance of my conversation with the Right Rev. Bishop Conwell, but his own words.

JOHN T. SULLIVAN.

Sworn to by James W. Baker, Alderman, on the twelfth day of January, eighteen hundred and twenty-one.

Sullivan's efforts proved nugatory, the Bishop holding: "No power on earth can oblige a Bishop to give faculties to those whom they (*sic.*) conscientiously consider unworthy nor bring them to account for withdrawing spiritual powers from them for conscientious motives."¹

Concerning Sullivan's sworn statements, *M. F.* writes in a pamphlet issued April 12, 1821, entitled "An Explanation of some Canon Laws":

¹ *Sundry Documents.*

Whatever Dr. Conwell knew of Mr. H's conduct he only knew it in private and from private information ; he therefore could not in conscience divulge it, according to the law of justice and charity ; yea, he would be bound to speak well of him in public in proportion as Mr. H. was to the public eyes in estimation. But in secret he knew him to be dangerous to his flock, though, I suppose not by far so much so as afterwards. Upon his public declaration of disobedience, the Bishop lost all hope of having Mr. H. under his paternal inspection and therefore was bound to suspend him. In this situation he is importuned by Mr. S. to restore the favorite of the congregation. . . . Tell the full cause of the suspension ? He could not, justice forbade it. . . . His charity went further ; he declared he had no other cause (and he could declare it) but the public refusal of obedience. Was this true ? Yes, it was, as it is true when I speak of N. as a very honest man, because he is generally reputed as such, though I secretly know that he cheated his neighbor the other day. . . . In saying that Mr. H. would be a very useful man in another diocese he spoke according to his public reputation. . . . It would have been sufficient to give his future Bishop a secret information and thus get rid of a dangerous man who never lawfully belonged to his diocese. (P. 22.)

Thus the testimony varies even on this point. But as the Bishop is certainly the most competent witness of his own intentions, and as the motives named in *Concatenation* are confirmed by his subsequent utterances, we may conclude that Hogan's misconduct during the interregnum was the Bishop's real reason for the withdrawal of his faculties.

As to the formal cause, his opposition to authority, Hogan attempts to clear himself in his first pamphlet (p. 14), as follows :

I do solemnly protest on the word of a clergyman and the honor of a man, that so far from giving a full deliberate consent

to defying ecclesiastical authority, an idea of the kind never entered my mind.

Not a solitary admonition had been given me and of course here could exist not the shadow of contumacy on my part as there was no opportunity of manifesting it.

Why not give me a fair trial and his decision in writing? Though the treatment I have received is cruel and unparalleled in the annals of clerical intrigue and episcopal despotism, I am consoled by having the respect and confidence of the pious and virtuous part of the congregation.

Besides his solemn protest, there should be read the language of his sermon as reported by himself, his refusal to obey, and the threats with which he concludes this same pamphlet. Some doubt is thrown on his statement that he had received "not a solitary admonition" by the fact that he associates, in the sermon at issue, the Bishop's interference in the matter of his residence with the prelate's attempt to dictate "what society I shall have;" as much as to imply that the Bishop had admonished him at least informally: what company he kept, being virtually the reason why Hogan was required to return to the priests' house.

According to the statements of his friends, Hogan had so far relented by the end of that week, that he was willing to make an apology and to return to St. Joseph's house, if permitted. Mathew Carey said, on December 20: "Mr. Hogan avows he has erred and further he is willing to make an adequate apology." There is other evidence to the same effect. The Lay Trustees, in "An Address to the Congregation," 1822 (page 21), aver that "Mr. Hogan authorized Mr. Doyle to propose his return to that house to the Bishop. Mr. Doyle made the proposition but it was refused. Mr. Smith made a similar proposition to the Bishop at the Board, to which he also refused assent, and assigned as a reason that Mr. McGirr

and Mr. Hogan were at variance and that, should they not have sufficient command over their tempers, from words they might come to blows."

So, then, in the words of the people, Hogan was now "suspended"; in the language of the Bishop "his faculties were withdrawn." Bishop Conwell wrote to Archbishop Maréchal, January 22, 1821: "I never used the word suspension. I merely withdrew faculties from him, for I was cautious and guarded from the beginning." Later, however, as we shall see, he did use the word "suspension."

On December 20, a week after the scene in the pastoral residence, Mathew Carey expressed his views of the situation in a pamphlet entitled "An Address to the Right Rev., the Bishop of Pennsylvania, and the members of St. Mary's Congregation." He referred to the "state of discontent and alienation" long prevalent in the parish, and so damaging to the cause of religion and morality. "A more formidable scene of discord impends at present and threatens a most serious explosion unless the breach be healed and harmony restored."

Carey desired that the apology which Hogan was willing to offer should be accepted, and Hogan reinstated. Even were an "example" necessary for punishing the contumacy of one who had set episcopal authority at defiance, he would still appeal to the "good sense and regard for religion," as to "whether the peace and harmony of the congregation are to be offered up as a sacrifice for such a consideration." He declared that Hogan had erred, and his warmest advocates admitted that he merited a reprimand; but they would not concede that he deserved suspension. *Item*, that the punishment went beyond the measure of the offence, and in so far as it exceeded that measure, it was obviously unjust. "Those opposed to his reinstatement, ground their opinion on

his having set the episcopal authority at defiance. A large and respectable portion of the congregation is attached to the Rev. Mr. Hogan. They are impressed with the belief that his talents and his zeal have been and would be eminently useful; their opinions and their wishes cannot be treated with neglect and slight without producing consequences which every good man would avoid." Carey went on to declare: "The régime that prevails in Catholic countries does not quadrate with the practice in this country; the subserviency of the laity to the clergy in those countries operates as effectively as the influence of the civil authority. A different order of things prevails in this country. The opinions and wishes of the people require to be consulted to a degree unknown in Europe." Yet "this state of things" was not incompatible with clerical authority, nor destructive thereof; the "contrary will appear as clear as the noon-day sun."

So Carey would have peace through further probation of Hogan, who would thereby take warning, with consequences of "pure and unmixed good." But Carey and other writers at that time were not aware that the sentence on Hogan rested not singly on his "overt act" of disrespect to authority, but had been determined prior to that act, for conduct contrary to the moral principles of which a priest should be a shining example; which conduct, however, the Bishop would not make public "to the injury of the clerical order." The congregation saw the alleged cause only; and accordingly a meeting of the congregation was held on December 20, when a committee was authorized to appeal to the Bishop for Hogan's reinstatement. We shall reserve for our next chapter the memorial and the Bishop's reply.

LETTER OF A "COLORED CHILD OF THE SACRED HEART."

THE following letter was dictated by the negress Eliza or *Liza* Nebbett, and addressed to the Rev. Mother Randall, when she was Superior of the Madison Avenue house, New York, probably towards the year 1880. The "ole Archbishop" was Monseigneur Napoléon Joseph Perché, of New Orleans. Mother Aloysia Hardey was the successor of Mother Eugénie Audé, in the office of Superior of St. Michael's. The Rev. M. Mary Elizabeth Moran was Vicar of the Louisiana houses when Liza wrote the letter to Mother Randall. Liza, of course, had her cabin in the negro quarters belonging to the Convent; and probably that is why the heading of her letter is "*St. Michael's Plantation.*"

Liza was given to Mother Duchesne at Florissant, Missouri, by Monseigneur Dubourg, about A. D. 1821. She was then a sickly, neglected child of six or seven years, whom the Archbishop had picked up somewhere during one of his journeys. She grew up strong and sturdy, and later on, in 1827, Mother Duchesne gave her to Mother Eugénie Audé for the foundation of St. Michael's, St. James Parish, Louisiana. She lived there until her death in 1888; serving the Community with entire devotedness: especially during the latter half of her life. She was buried in the Convent cemetery; a privilege she had asked for and obtained of the Superior General of the Sacred Heart, Very Rev. Mother Adèle Lehon.

ST. MICHAEL'S PLANTATION.

Dear Mother : It seems as what it is an age since I received de letter what you sent me fur to have a mass said fur yore

tentions and fur to have all de darkies in dese parts to exist at dat holy sacrifice, but I has been so upside down wards fur dese last six weeks dat I aint had no time to think ob nothin but my pore ole soul, what has had a heap o' sorrow an tribulations, but I wants you to have a good understanding of what for I had not sent you a letter long afore dis present time.

First and foremost I was a waitin fur dis here Lady what is a settin in my Cabin now a writin down all what I tells her to say, cause she knows you and all dem Yankees up in your part of de world and I knowd she was coming up here wid my child, Madam Mary Moran fur to see our ole Archbishop what is stayin on dis here Convent plantation fur to be took good care of till he gets over dis spell of sickness, dat is de why & de wherefore dat you aint done got a letter from Liza long afore now. I hopes dat you has a good understandin of my pology, cause I was riz by dese ladies of de Sacred Heart & I don't want to bring disgrace on dem by bad manners fur Madame Duchesne and Madame Aloysius Hardy was mighty pertiklar when they was raisin me to show Liza what was right and what was left so I knowd politeness most as well as de white folks and fifty times better dan any of my kin and color.

All de members of dis here colored congregation sends dere bess love an compliments to all you ladies, dey will join in de mass when our director says it next week, dey has all been invited to exist at de mass and communicate, maybe I'll go and maybe I'll not go, cause you see I'se in great affliction at dis present time; my legs is swelled up like two drums, my feet is so sore I can't put on my shoes. De Father says Liza, put on a long gown and go to de holy table in yer bare feet but I said no: I aint goin to make any show like I was so wirtuous when all de folks knows dat Liza aint no saint. I aint going to do no such thing, de Lord flicts me and when he thinks dat I'se done suffered enuff den he make de way smooth—but now its all hills and hollows and de pebbles and de sharp bits o' rock sticks in mighty smart—but den de Lord knows how many thorns He put on de briar-bush and it seems like He

soon tell me to quit—dat he's tired flictin pore old Liza and wants to give her a rest. I dont say dis to grumble bout His hand what is laid so heavy on me, but to splain de reason dat may prevent me to exist at yore Mass, but de Lord is in my ole Cabin and I kin pray dare fur all you ladies of the Sacred Heart.

My chile looks mighty smart, but I done cried a hogshead o' tears cause she cant be suaded to come an live here quiet at Saint Michaels' sence she's been Superior she's like a spirit going everywhere. I blames Madam Aloysia Hardy fur givin des Superiors here in Louisiana dese idays about flittin from house to house; afore she was come down hare dey was all quiet and contented to stay in de same convent from de beginning to de end of dar days, but she comes and gives em a taste for cars and boats, an since den dey is every one like de moon what is always changin an a changin; but I ax de Lord to leave my chile here to me so I can keep an eye after her health—she's so valuable to dis here Society dat she ought to be took double care of; ef I see her cheeks a sinkin in and her complexion gittin like white wash I'll keep a jawin an a grumblin till dey send her back to dat ar Halifax fur I dont never want agin to see her look like chalk like she used to. I'se taxed wid de Rhumatiz and a heap o' other misfortunes an it pears to me like ole Liza wont do much more in dis world, it seems like her web is most spun—dare aint much yarn left on de spool an de Lord's pretty nigh settin His foot agin the wheel fur to stop it from whirlin round any more, so if ye dont hear any more from Liza ye need'nt be sprized. Please present my compliments to all you ladies of de Sacred Heart and tell "Howde" to every one of them. I love them all, dey is all locked up in my heart cause dey was fectionate & tentative to my pore sick chile, Mother Moran.

I draw my letter to a close with love

LIZA NEBBIT

Colored child of the Sacred Heart, first slave what was brought in dis Convent by Mother Duchesne.

ITEMS TRANSATLANTIC

TO turn from adolescent America to seasoned Europe in any sanguine historic vein is like the transit from some interior hamlet, with its few defined lanes and certified landmarks, into the mazes of the Catacombs. Not that we would hereby disparage the precious fruits of Christian *archæology*, indeed, nor the clearness of Catacombic topography to those who know their bearings therein; but the bewilderment in question inheres perforce in the multiplied complexity of a deeply stratified civilization as over against our surface encampments in the New World. Shall we say that the transition becomes measurably simplified if we circumscribe our errand within specified bounds, for example, such as *Catholic* European studies? Measurably, yes; appreciably and sensibly, not so much. Take a bibliographic census, if you will, of the tabulated contents of several dozen current European historic reviews, representative in their sundry countries, and you will promptly admit our deduction that Catholic history is a vastly ramified labyrinth in the European civil and religious fabric. Accordingly, in our foraging among *Continental* historic reviews for notes that might immediately interest our home circle of readers, be it pardoned us to emulate the bee in her business; she is not bent on exhausting all botany, but only on filling her sack with its proper cargo wherever she sights or spots it.

Archivio Storico Lombardo, Milan. 1912. Serie IV. Fasc. XXXVI.

Students interested in the life of St. Charles Borromeo might find it worth an hour's leisure to note the chapter *San Carlo Borromeo e il Monasterio di Cremella*, in the

article *Il Monasterio delle Benedittine di San Pietro di Cremella*.

Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. March, 1913.

This number notes a more than commonly significant *Compendio de Historia de la Civilización*; in that the author is a *femme savante*: Doña Magdalena S. Fuentes, *Professora de Estudios Superiores del Magisterio*. In fact, the work is pronounced to be entirely capable, and especially strong on the didactic side; hence likely to prove a good practical text-book for novitiates in historical courses. The work thus far comprises two volumes of more than 600 pages each; Volume I dealing with antiquity, Volume II with the Middle Ages. The projected third volume is to survey modern times. The rather inevitable nuisance of *congestion* in works of this kind (unless the treatment be "choppy" to extremes of compression), appears to be mitigated, in our Castilian case, by the plan of illustrative epochal readings: *lecturas*, as from Flavius Josephus, Suetonius, Aulus Gellius, Tertullian, St. Jerome, Boetius; and the same reinforced by way of modern commentators. In a word, there is supposed to be quite a successful adjustment between the *extensive* and the *intensive* demands of historic instruction.

Likewise in the March number of Madrid *Boletin*, we find reference to an elaborate and comprehensive *Cuadro Geográfico y Estadístico de España*, brought down to date of its construction, A. D. 1902.

The Roman *Quartalschrift* reviews and examines the controverted point: *age of the famous bronze statue of St. Peter*, in an article *Der Cinctus Gabinus und der Bronzestatue des Apostelfürsten im Vatican*. According to *Wickoff*, the statue is of Mediaeval date no less;

competent authorities than Grisar and Wilpert maintain its traditional Christian antiquity. Dr. Joseph Wittich, who writes the cited article, strongly supports the older tradition, in the light of similar customs and archaeologic details beyond rightful disavowal: fresh from the mines, as it were, or the respective ancient quarries. Neither, we are told, are these ancient quarries at all exhausted; whereas, in the present phase of the controversy, even remote Asia Minor tends to throw new light in favor of the older tradition.

Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst.
Trier. 1912. XXXI. I/II.

The sphere of positive and constructive history is ingeniously furthered by an article: *Die Stadt Mainz in Karolinger Zeit* (Dr. Manfred Stimming). On the basis of *Schenkungsurkunden Klöster Fulda und Lersch*; or of a particular extant volume thereof which treats of the *Wormsgau*, Mainz included, he reconstructs a fairly ample *page*, at least, of economic and social Mainz during the Carolingian era. Under the Merovingians and the Salic Emperors as well, the history of Mainz is bare and obscure for lack of preserved material; but these cloistral documents minutely and copiously revive and illumine the principal features of the town for the Caroling centuries. The Frankish quarter centered about the Cathedral and Market-place; eastward ranged the Frisian component. The population was much smaller than back in the Roman days; and the *enceinte* had room for vineyards, gardens, meadows, fields, vacant lots: just as an Arabian traveler in the Tenth or Eleventh Century still remarked that in Mainz they had wheat and rye fields, and vineyards and orchards. We cannot, of course, assume to gauge the accuracy of the researcher's more general deduction to the effect that this reconstructed Mainz affords

us a *typical* idea of Rhenish Roman towns in their Carolingian evolution.

Historische Zeitschrift, 1913, 110, 3, 14, 2, estimates Johannes Dierauer's History of the Swiss Confederacy (*Geschichte des Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft*) as the *most mature* work on that theme down to the Revolutionary period. "Das Buch Dierauers kann als die reifste Arbeit über die Geschichte der vorrevolutionärer Eidgenossenschaft bezeichnet werden."

In the same number of *Historische Zeitschrift*, a reviewer of John Edward Lloyd's History of Wales, pertinently to the author's *Druid* hypothesis, scores the apt point that unsolved historic problems are scarcely to be settled by merely postulating one unknown quantity in place of another: "man setzt so nur ein x für ein y."

Thomas von Aquin, a bibliography by J. A. Endres, undertaken with a view to *personalizing* St. Thomas, is favorably reviewed in *Historische Zeitschrift*; yet with restrictions inherent alike in the meagreness of purely personal material on the great Scholastic, and in the author's narrowed use of what materials there are. The *bibliography* of St. Thomas would appear to have become advanced in the direction of precision by Pierre Mandonnet's venture to define his genuine writings: *Des Écrits authentiques de S. Thomas d'Aquin*.

Revue des Pyrénées, Toulouse, Number 3, 1912, contains a rambling and hazy, though not pointless article of mingled archæology, reflection, rhapsody: "Un Monument de l'Unité Française: La Cité de Carcassonne." In so far as the moral of Gallia's fundamental and permanent unity amid all the vicissitudes of time and society, turns on *St. Nazaire*, the Cathedral of Carcassonne, we behold there, in truth, but a freshly eloquent witness of the vitality of Catholic foundations; the house built on a rock. This was hardly the rhapsodist's formal inten-

tion (since his marks of Catholicity seem to be of a subjective eclectic stamp); but the rock truth stands firm wherever *unity* subsists, and that is ultimately secured in Catholic history alone.

Revue D'Histoire Littéraire de la France. Number 4, 1912.

Mere curiosity (*sauf culpa nostra*) moved one to see what might be the import of an attractive heading: *La Fontaine lecteur de Saint-François de Sales*. Namely, from the striking parallel between La Fontaine's Fable of the *Partridge* (*Quand la perdrix . . .*) and a passage of Saint Francis of Sales in his *Traité de l'Amour de Dieu* (VIII, Chapter XII: *Si l'oyseleur . . .*), the French critic somewhat reasonably infers that La Fontaine must have read that identical passage. Maybe he did; but the trait in question: feigned lameness in the partridge to divert pursuit of the young, is so common a phenomenon (witness the whipporwill in our own country), that any two such thoughtful and intimate observers as La Fontaine and Saint Francis would be not unlikely to describe the same in closely equivalent terms, independently each of the other. At all events, the given parallel is noteworthy, and creditable to both writers; the one for his quaint prose, the other for his metrical tact.

Revue Des Questions Historiques. October, 1912.

Were he limited to a single solid review, certainly a Catholic student would constantly thank his fortune if this one were *Revue des Questions Historiques*; that is to say, provided he relished the discussion of historical topics from a platform of ideal urbanity, pillared on the mellowest of academic wisdom. The body of Contents for the given October number includes: La Légende du Page de Sainte Élisabeth de Portugal et les nouveaux

documents orientaux. Le Secret du Pape: Un légat apostolique en France (1732-1756). Vingt-six ans d'épiscopat: Mgr J.-B. de Maillé-la-Tour Landry (1743; 1777-1804). Les Propos de Table de Luther. Étude critique sur leur origine et leur valuer comme source de l'histoire de Luther (*Suite et Fin*). Revenus du clergé breton avant la Révolution. Comité ecclésiastique de l'Assemblée constituante de 1789 et ses archives.

What immediately appeals to us in the *critical study* of Luther's Table-Talk, is the French incisiveness of discrimination between husk and kernel, values objective and weight subjective, volatile moonshine and serious noon-day. All the world will agree that even a theological doctor's table-talk presupposes relaxation of mind; not gravity of thought intensive. Reduced to their final terms, Luther's table utterances will prove exceedingly void of objective worth on any sober subject whatever; on the other hand, they are capital evidence of the inner man for a round sum of fifteen years: the closing cycle of his extraordinary career. As forage and fodder of the like subjective importance, they are unsurpassed; all they still need is further sifting of genuine documents, better appraisal of major and minor, direct and collateral sources. We shall then see Luther in a sublime series of moving picture flash-lights, instantaneous, impeccably true to life and nature; also, such a nature! He will be his own chief operator; apparatus, machinery, thesis and reader all in one. We shall gain in our knowledge of Doctor Martin Luther; doubtless even his extreme devotees will discern cause to subtract from this more fully revealed Luther's once magic art of posing for a religious reformer.

The present number reviews twenty-six years of the Apostolic labors of Monsigneur Jean-Baptiste de Maillé-la-Tour Dandry, born of ancient Anjou gentry in 1743,

first a soldier in this world's army, then in higher orders of the Church Militant. On leaving the army, our future prelate entered the Sulpician Seminary in Paris, and was thence directly appointed Vicar General of Mans. December 7, 1777, he was made Bishop of the rugged See of Gap; translated in 1784 to a still remoter See, but one of right venerable distinction: Saint-Papoul, founded by the same *Saint*, a disciple of Saint Saturninus, Apostle of Toulouse. When the See of Saint-Papoul was suppressed by the National Assembly, Monsigneur de Maillé-la-Tour Landry retired to the Faubourg Saint-Germain; but soon had to flit hither and yonder in Paris of the Revolution, and for a time he served once again in military guise: Republican *guard*. Later, in the suburb of Passy, he resumed his clerical functions; not only in the usual round of divine ministrations, but even ordaining candidates for the priesthood. Often in dire peril of his life, he escaped execution by sentence of proscription, and spent ten months in such exile on the Isle of Ré. From 1800 forward he followed his proper vocation without practical abatement, although sometimes in close quarters with conflicting odds both personal and civil; for he had enemies in the turbulent forces of the times, and also incurred the passing disfavor of Napoleon. The latter, nevertheless, was instantly won by the Bishop's quick tact and perfect candor; signed him a liberal cheque, and sardonically compared the Bishop's normal allowance to "two coals on a tile" (*deux charbons sur une tuile*). Monsigneur died a natural death (doubtless hastened, indeed, by his multitude of hardships) in the sometime Rue de Sépulcre, subsequent Rue Bonaparte, 25 November, 1804. All things considered, his life was a living document in support of apostolic heroism and the pure faith of the Church in that least auspicious epoch for God's peace on earth: the French Revolution and Reign of Terror.

The January number (1913) of *Revue des Questions Historiques* notices "Une Nouvelle Théorie sur le Martyre des Chrétiens de Lyon en 177." Herein we are referred to an article by Professor James Westfall Thompson, University of Chicago, in past July number of the *American Journal of Theology*.¹ Because Professor Thompson did not find what he decided to be sufficient positive and constructive proof of an "alleged" martyrdom of Christians at Lyons in 177, therefore proceeded he to set up a tower of calmly, serenely, irenically destructive criticism, proving our "alleged" martyrdom at Lyons in 177 a pious "growth" of later legend. Point for point, negation for negation, destruction for destruction, the abundant scholar in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, unbuilds the fabric of Chicago's high tower; Professor Thompson had not discovered certain vital evidence against his theory: whilst neither had he correctly interpreted some texts which his theory dismissed as among deficient witnesses. Apart from his own arguments, the French reviewer cites the consensus of unchallenged historians of sundry beliefs and schools, in total rejection of "Chicago's" disbelief in that "alleged" martyrdom of Christians at Lyons in Year 177. Our untutored first impression, in this manner of research, would naturally look to Paris for surer light on Lyons, A. D. 177, than to Chicago; no other disrespect entertained for a moment in prejudice to the Metropolis of Lake Michigan.

¹ *Alleged Persecution of Christians at Lyons in 177.*

BOOK REVIEW

In St. Dominic's Country. By C. M. ANTONY. Edited, with a Preface, by the REV. T. M. SCHWERTNER, O.P., S.T.L. Longmans, Green & Co., 1912.

The author modestly disclaims any formal purpose of writing either a life of St. Dominic, or a connected history of his labors and mission in France between 1205 and 1219. For many readers she has done much better; by sparing them the tension of unrelieved erudition on the one hand, on the other, by dispensing them from responsibility to play the critic, should the author lapse in point of less formal demands of accuracy. In a word, this book is an ideal combination of those vital charms which tinge history with the bloom and flush of truthful romance, and of such practical information at every step as we seek and find in competent guiding *pilgrims*. There is a substratum of real history, in so far as this French chapter in the life of St. Dominic adheres faithfully to known and established records; but there is also the amplified modern setting of a book of actual travel; rather devout pilgrimage (since the traveler is ardently Catholic, with a faith proof to changeful fashions in the outward guise of *Tempora mutantur*). It is this firm faith of hers which has wonderfully succeeded in presenting St. Dominic just as he is, austerity for austerity without compromise or abatement, yet so true to his divine aim that neither infidel nor heretic may honestly dispute St. Dominic's title to heroic loftiness. To suppose that we can, even though we would, recover the entire fabric of St. Dominic's era, were no less delusive than to fancy that our mind and memory at sixty can fully reconstruct the substance of our youth at sixteen or twenty. But it is no exaggeration to say that this observant "pilgrimage" very fairly recovers for us to-day quite a vivid *approximation* to the inner life and times of the early Thirteenth Century in Languedoc. Exist-

ing landmarks are shown in their maximum historic light: documentary, legendary, traditional; and also in their present coloring, topographic, physical and social. The details of landscape and the touches of passing conversation serve to set us right in the midst of Southern France; moreover, we feel the spell of *composite* France, from Caesar through Christian centuries down to this mingled age of infidelity and faith potential. Our modern Catholic pilgrim would seem to have caught some such impulse as that of Clifford's armor:

Bear me to the heart of France,
Is the longing of the shield;

save that, in her case, it is not a martial mood, but a fervent mode of the kind that will keep alive sober zeal and vindicate Catholic truth in broad daylight. Indeed, one of the first thoughts to possess us on laying down her volume is to challenge a skeptical generation with St. Dominic's work in Languedoc: "*Magna est veritas et praevalerebit.*" Would only that the French themselves could be introduced once more to their own adorable shrines and cradles of the faith; no longer bartering the treasures of Toulouse, Montréal, Narbonne and Rocamadour, for the vain insignia of sacrilegious officialdom divorced from God. One warmly endorses the author's lyric motto:

O Salutaris Hostia
Spes unica fidelium,
In Te confidit Francia
Da Pacem, Salva Liliū.

OUT OF SHADOWS INTO LIGHT. By Charles J. Callan, of the Order of Preachers. With an Introduction by Cardinal Gibbons. John Murphy Co., Baltimore. 1913. 93 pp.

Cardinal Gibbons closes his glowing testimonial of this elegant essay on life's higher destiny: "Once again I heartily commend it to all persons who justly regard life and the hereafter as things of vast and serious importance." In fact, the little volume is above ordinary merit for purity of its thoughts and style, and might be compared, not inaptly nor discordantly with its pensive title, to a revolving searchlight projection of our best normal vision above and beyond its earthly horizon.

Prophets and Apostles are invoked by way of luminous reinforcement, and the total effect becomes not only of searchlight splendor, but of animating impulsion; besides, to fix our gaze on the soul's true realm, somewhere still to be revealed, but most surely to dawn at last, when this mortal clay shall have received the seal of immortality and incorruption. It will neither disparage the plain prose of this essay, nor will it overcast the serene shades of *Thanatopsis*, to observe that one recognizes a certain parallel of argument between this, the contemplation of a devout Dominican, and the fundamental philosophy of the *Flood of Years*: their common postulation of an infinitely perfect reunion of all things prized and lovely, from ideal elements thereof prophetic even here in the flight of time.

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY. HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES. Edited by Charles George Herbermann, LL.D. Volume VI. Part II. December, 1912.

It is a pleasure to handle so solid and likewise visibly attractive a product of historic and bibliographic expertness as the volume before us. To say that the general contents and their finished presentation do honor to Cardinal Farley's fine portrait, which forms the frontispiece, is commendation sufficient for the discerning; we may merely add that the range of articles and reviews, besides including such topics as one ordinarily expects from a central *magazine* of specialized studies, also touches on some interesting discoveries in cartography at large: cosmography, in short. We refer, of course, to the two articles by the Rev. Joseph Fischer, S.J.: "An Important Ptolemy Manuscript with Maps, in the New York Public Library," and "The Globe-Goblet of Wolfegg" (in Würtemberg). A contribution of permanent, fairly definitive substance and value is Father Spillane's "Bibliography of John Gilmary Shea." In view of a somewhat prevalent indifference to the outward graces of form, style, correct appearance altogether, among professional scholars and *historians* (except usually in Paris), the old adage of "Handsome is as handsome does," applies with particular felicity to this identical volume.

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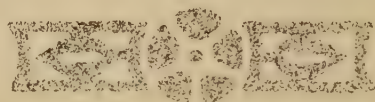
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TEMPORARY SCHISM OVER THE ELECTION OF FATHER WILLIAM ELLING

TO THE PASTORATE OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA
1797-1806¹

BY THE REV. WILLIAM J. McCALLEN, PH.D.

AS will appear by the contemporary records which form the substance of our following review of the trouble, yonder long-past schism arose from disagreement between the Trustees of Holy Trinity parish and the Right Reverend Bishop Carroll concerning the pastorate of Father William Elling, whom the Trustees elected on November 12, 1797. No sadder example need be brought for a practical comment on the mischiefs incidental to an arbitrary régime of parish trustees when they are stubbornly bent on a course of resistance to higher authority. Says a sage writer in the Cathedral Records of Baltimore: "The trustee system in the Ameri-

¹ Compiled from notes left by the late Martin I. J. Griffin.

can Catholic Church has been not only a failure, but a calamity to religion. In Philadelphia and New York it impeded the financial as well as the spiritual growth of the Church". He concedes, it is true, that the same system has worked well in the case of Baltimore Cathedral; but he calls this "the exception that proves the rule".

In dealing with the archives from which we derive our present review of the situation at Holy Trinity, we have followed the manuscript spelling, abbreviations, capitals and punctuation; taking only the liberty of pointing "Mr." and "Rev."; and we have not deemed it advisable to correct even palpable, hasty inadvertencies on the part of those writers who certainly knew better in their grammatical moments. It should be remarked in fairness to Mr. Secretarius James Oellers that he would be naturally somewhat influenced by his native German idiom in the use of capitals; or, again, it is not strange that foreigners lapse, at times, into hybrid confusion, as between their once consistent native usages and the many admitted inconsistencies of written English. Mere Teutonisms in our cited correspondence will be matters of course to readers who know German.

Prior to the election of Father William Elling, Holy Trinity parish had been served by the Rev. John Baptist Charles Helbron (as given in our consulted documents; elsewhere the name is given Heilbron), first pastor, October, 1789–November, 1791; by his brother, the Rev. Peter Helbron, August, 1791–August, 1796; and by the Rev. John H. Goetz, from November 16, 1796, to June 12, 1797. The background of Father Elling's career before his election as pastor at Holy Trinity (November 12, 1797), discloses but few particulars. He was of German origin, and is introduced to us as one of the Promoters at the Synod of the Clergy in Baltimore, 1791

(First Diocesan Synod). His colleague on that occasion was the Rev. Leonard Neale. At that time Father Elling was pastor at St. Mary's church, Lancaster. Father Kirlin tells us¹ that the Lancaster charge was irksome to Father Elling, insomuch that he asked Bishop Carroll to transfer him.

Yet when it was suggested by the Bishop that he could remove to Philadelphia and relieve Father Graessl from some of the heavy mission work, he wrote, 8 December, 1791: 'I must plainly tell you that upon no condition I could like it there (Philadelphia) and live in the priest's house so much exposed in the morning and afternoon to the sun, so that there is no shelter. On 28 December, he wrote that his health was poor, and if it so continued he could not remain. He desired that he be allowed to select for himself the next mission he might go to. Later he wrote that he would like to go to Charleston, as it was 'favorable to his complexion,' When Bishop Carroll objected to his leaving Lancaster, he wrote in April, 1792, that he would remain, though he thought it a 'human impossibility,' unless he improved. In that year the Bishop yielded to his importunities and he was transferred to Goshenhoppen, but in less than a year he was sent to New York, 16 May, 1793. He wrote Bishop Carroll from New York that if he continued there he would be under the necessity of hiring a room and living by himself, 'as to continue in Mr. O'Brien's house he would not for any price or salary,' and added that he would have been better in Lancaster, as the air of New York did not agree with him. He stated too that he had sent word to Philadelphia not to forward his trunks. From New York Father Elling went to Reading and to him the schismatic Goetz applied for the Holy Oils, rituals, missals, etc., which were needed at Holy Trinity, as Father Helbron had removed all these when he was obliged to leave by the schismatics. All things needed

¹ Catholicity in Philadelphia, p, 153.

were supplied by Father Elling, and as he had grown restless at Reading he came himself, 1 November, 1796, to Philadelphia and offered his services to the schismatic Trustees and Father Goetz.

For the sake of unbroken narrative, we have slightly anticipated the notes of our proper sources. From these we find record of Father Elling in the baptismal register of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, 1794, where he baptized Mary Elizabeth Clements, June 19. He signed: "of the congregation of Lancaster". Further dates of his baptismal entries in the same register during 1794 are June 24, July 13, 21, 23, August 1, 2, 4, 30, September 5, 8, 27. His first record at Holy Trinity dates with the baptism of Mary Mazé, September 1, 1794. In 1795 he was at Reading.

The long period of actual schism in Holy Trinity parish was anticipated by sundry minor contentions and petty bickerings. To begin with, the Trustees appear to have been at odds with Father Peter Helbron, whose pastorate expired in August, 1796; they would then have engaged Father Elling in remedy for an older grievance. He declined, as we are told, because the Church was heavily burdened with debt (and certainly no conspicuous business talent appertained to Father Elling in the light of our existing records). But there was also an opening for Father Elling in the office of schoolmaster. James Oellers, prominent among the Trustees, and their somewhat consequential Secretarius, had built a new schoolhouse; and so when Father Elling declined the pastor's office, he was engaged as schoolmaster (June 12, 1797). In fairness to Father Elling's part in a subsequently disputed claim from that school engagement, and especially in connection with the prominence and the influence of Oellers over parish affairs, we should not disregard the

formal datum that the Board of Trustees did officially resolve on Father Elling's appointment as schoolmaster. Next in the way of cloudy forecasts we discover some friction between Father Goetz and Bishop Carroll, on the one hand; between the Trustees and Father Goetz, on the other. Not only had the Trustees assumed to invest Father Goetz with the pastor's functions, but they likewise "dismissed" him of their sole responsibility in August, 1797. Now since Father Elling was already on the premises as teacher, and had been voted, as well, an assistant to Father Goetz in the pastorate, the Trustees deemed it opportune to *elect* Father Elling sole pastor of the parish: until, at least, they could import a priest from Europe with authority (so they vainly conceived it) supplanting the jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll.

We do not discern that Bishop Carroll objected to the character, at all, of Father Elling, but simply to his irregular "election" without reference to the Bishop's voice or choice. Moreover, even in Holy Trinity parish there seems to have been a disaffected minority against the action of the Trustees; and although Thomas Fitz-Simons, a Catholic signer of the Constitution in Pennsylvania, strove to reconcile the conflicting parties, his exertions proved fruitless. Bishop Carroll answered, under date of September 5, 1797, that before harmony could be restored, the contumacious Trustees must acknowledge the Bishop's right to appoint pastors. Nevertheless the Trustees retained Father Elling as pastor, at \$400 a year, subject to a pension of \$200 a year if he became incapacitated. Nay more, on January 18, 1798, the Trustees resolved, again, to seek a priest having "Papal or Episcopal powers"; thus obdurately persisting in their determination not to recognize the jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll. We may observe that Father Elling seems to have rendered himself unacceptable to Bishop

Carroll, first of all by "coöperating" with Father Goetz in the latter's opposition to the Bishop. And from the fact that both Father Goetz and Father Elling incurred excommunication for their disobedience (February 22, 1797), we must account the Trustees doubly at fault in their subsequent preferment of Father Elling against episcopal competency. Yet in that selfsame year 1797, they not only engaged Father Elling as schoolmaster, but also "elected" him for their pastor.

The official minutes of Father Elling's election are entered as follows:

At an election held on the 12th November 1797 in the City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania in the pastor house belonging to the Holy Trinity Church, which said election was published in the said Church on Sunday being the 5th instant by an order of the Trustees of the German Religious Society of Roman Catholics of the Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia: it appears after examining & compting the tickets carefully, that the Reverend William Elling was unanimously elected as one of the pastors of the said Holy Trinity Church, as witness our hands & seals the day above written.

JAMES OELLERS

Inspectors

CHARLES BASTIAN

CHARLES BOUMAN

Clerks

ADAM LECHLER

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, members of the German Religious of Roman Catholics of the Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, do authorize & impower William Elling the present Pastor of our Church and the Trustees of our Corporation, or a majority of them to write to Europe, and engage a German Roman Catholic clergyman to come over to this City to serve

us as one of the pastors of our said Church. Witness our hands, the 12th November A. D. 1797.

Valentin Schurling, George Horne, Johannes Handel, Andreas Keans, Joseph Rohs, John Luke Lentz, John Conrad, George Apt, Geo. Lechler, Jun., Jacob Trein, Nicolaus Kappel, Martin Kuhn, Peter Trein, James Humphreys, William Pramger, Jos. Honeycomb, Adam Apt, William Bastian, John Kremer, Johannes Bischel, Anthony Jaeckle, Henry Smith, Johannes Schrank, Andrew Smith, Louis Lematy, Adam Rebel, Geo. Ernest Laechler, Anthony Vanmierk, Anthony Hookey, Simon Miller, Anthony Mierckle, Charles Vanmierk, Charles Bastian, Baltasar Kniel, Adam Lechler, Bernard Shefler, George Lechler, Charles Bouman, Conrad Cooper, Joseph Schmeill, George Abt, Jun., James Oellers, Adam Premir, John Thomas, William Spichennagel.

Our practical course in dealing with the abrupt records of all the ensuing dissensions over Father Elling's incumbency will be to present each document as we meet it; venturing neither opinion nor bald conjecture in the sphere of incomplete information. First comes a letter of Bishop Carroll's to the Rev. Matthew Carr, O. S. A., of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia, dated April 28, 1800. (Father Carr was an earnest advocate of peace during all the controversy.) Bishop Carroll first alludes to the antecedent dispute at Holy Trinity touching the status of Father Peter Helbron, whose attorneys, Heatly & Tilghman, in his case against the parish trustees, declared that in order to "show cause why Father Helbron should not be restored to the cure of Trinity Church", it would be required to determine two things: First, whether Helbron was indeed the pastor, so recognized by the Bishop, the congregation and the trustees themselves; second, whether it was canonical to remove him of their own (congregational) authority; the laws of Pennsylvania maintaining all churches in the exercise of

their special government and discipline unless these conflicted with the constitution and the laws of that State or of the United States. Bishop Carroll then proceeds :

What are the specific points which Oellers intends to refer to the Holy See? For I am persuaded that he really intends to refer none, nor to bind his party by its decisions. But it may be useful to draw from them some definite propositions. Till this is done no engagement may be made on any side. Nor is it fit that even then I should submit to refer to others a case in which by the express decrees of the Council of Trent and the terms of the Brief establishing the See of Baltimore my decision is final and conclusive. Indeed the Court would decide explicitly that the Roman Catholics have a right in common with other Religious Societies to govern themselves by their own regulations and discipline. I would agree readily to submit to a declaration of the Holy See concerning the general laws and usages of the Church in any given point; leaving it to the Bishop for the time being to decide on and apply the discipline so declared, to the facts which may be affected by it. I make this reserve as not having any doubt of the issue of a sentence, but merely not to surrender the prerogative of episcopacy. But it must be well understood that this reference, if made, comes not from us; that, as far as temporalities are concerned, we did not think of withdrawing from the jurisdiction of the Court. I am surprised that the Court did not animadvert upon the impudence of Oellers when he dared to assert that the cause was carried to Rome. Had such a declaration come from our own side, the opposite counsel would not have failed to make a great advantage of it and criminate us for resorting to a foreign tribunal: and, as I mentioned, the whole may be intended for a snare. The counsel for Mr. Helbron should not agree, in my opinion, to take the cause out of Court that it may be carried elsewhere for adjudication but only that it be determined by arbiters mutually acknowledged. I have not the least doubt of Oellers' and his party's activity being employed in Europe, as well here, to procure a sanction to their schism.

Still desirous of peace, Bishop Carroll wrote to Oellers on November 17, 1801, in reply to a letter from Oellers dated October 11th:

Once when I went to Philadelphia merely for the purpose of reconciliation I had scarce arrived when I was attached by a writ and brought into Court to hear from your lawyers the foulest abuse of our Church, its laws, doctrines and government, Pope and the Holy Council of Trent, etc., as if they had ransacked all Protestant libraries to defame it. You with others were present, without attempting to moderate the rancor of their invectives. On that occasion your counsel denied on your behalf that I was your Bishop: (saying) that Trinity Church was out of my jurisdiction. Hence after this open denial of your having any connection with me, I could not solicit any conference with you and your partisans without exposing myself to be told that you had nothing to do with me. So fatal will be the effects of this schism, which has lasted too long, that I cannot be too urgent to terminate it. Mr. Carr is instructed to confer with you.

Oellers answered (November 25) with proposals for reconciliation. Meanwhile, on November 18 and 19, Bishop Carroll also notified the Trustees that he had commissioned Father Carr to receive proposals for terminating the controversy.

To quote Oellers himself:

Right Reverend Sir:

Your answer to my letter of the 11th Octr. last I received the 21st Ins. which I have laid before the Trustees, they are very happy to hear of the recovery of your Health, & wish you a long continuance of it; they have considered the contents of it fully, they Join you in cherishing with Joy every prospect of a reconciliation, they hope it will terminate in an everlasting peace, Harmony, Christian Love & friendship, as it is the greatest Desire to put an End to this unhappy variance, they take the Liberty to make the following proposals.

1st they wont be involved in new Difficulties or Law Suits.
2d they Expect that all Suits shall be withdrawn by their Plaintiffs, then without it, it is impossible to come to a friendly accommodation. [Possibly "then," above, is a Teutonism for *denn, for.*]

3d it is farther wished that the Reverend William Elling should be continued their Pastor, as no person whatsoever can charge him with bad conduct, Excepting this unhappy variance your Right Reverence allows him to have been always a gentleman of good principles.

4th They beg also the favour of having it published in the Catholic Churches that all variance between your Right Reverence & the Trustees of the Holy Trinity Church are amicably settled, which will reinstate matters without offending, or hurting the Feelings of either party.

They remain with hopes of a prospect of a speedy reconciliation & beg to be favoured with an answer; I have the honour to be in behalf of the Corporation of the Trustees of the German Religious Society of Roman Catholics of the Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia, & in the State of Pennsylvania.

Right Reverend Sir

your most humble & most obt. Servt.

JAMES OELLERS, Secretarius.

November 30th 1801.

PS, this Day Doctor Carr had a meeting with Revd. William Elling, he will inform you of the result. I hope it will add to a speedy reconciliation.

(Endorsed : JAMES OLLERS

Nov. 25 & 30

1801.)

No date is affixed to the following letter from Father Carr to Bishop Carroll; but it bears directly on our subject.

Right Reverend Sir:

From the impatience Oellers Expressed to receive an Answer from you, I did expect an immediate visit from him and Reuter. What they are contriving or deliberating upon I am at a loss to conjecture; for it is scarcely probable they can refuse to close with the mild and necessary terms of Reconciliation wch. you propose, a good deal of caution will be requisite in treating with such people. [Other contents of the letter turn on other matters.]

Under date of December 2, 1801, Father Carr advises Bishop Carroll of unsatisfactory results in the cause of peace at Holy Trinity.

Right Reverend Sir:

I had the honour of writing you last week the pleasing prospect of reuniting the Germans of Holy Trinity has vanished, nothing will meet their ideas but what you will never concede, at Elling's particular request I had an interview with him in the presence of Primer, after several amicable conversations with Oellers; the result of all is that if you leave them to go on as in 1795 and six and allow them hereafter to nominate a clergymen they will become your dutiful children: I asked them was there not in contemplation a publick avowal of their irreligious and refractory conduct? Was not Mr. Elling to be required publicly to acknowledge that since his suspension and subsequent excommunication he had unhappily for himself & them sacrilegiously and invalidly exercised priestly functions? We are not to expect any publick avowal or acknowledgment. Everything must be kept in *Statu Ante*.

The Rev. Mr. Fitzpatrick is still here awaiting your commands. The bearer of this a French Gentleman has been most warmly recommended to me by the most worthy Dr. Matignon of Boston, I hope you will find him as deserving of your kind attention in Baltimore as he has proved himself in ours here.

Your most devoted & humble Servant

Philada. Dec. 2d, 1801.

M. CARR.

Bishop Carroll's reply to Oellers's propositions of November 25 bears date of December 2, 1801:

The condition of reunion which you have proposed in behalf of Trustees of Trinity will be admitted as far as depends on me excepting in one matter which must be more fully explained. The first, that the Trustees will not be involved in new difficulties and law suits, meets my full approbation and they will find their peace and interest in adhering to it as far as they can in furnishing no pretext to others to harass them with actions at law.

2. They expect all suits will be withdrawn. As I never brought or advised any nor have yet heard whether that which the Trustees brought against myself, Mr. Neale &c. for contempt be yet concluded: excepting with regard to Mr. Carr & myself I am in no wise concerned in this proposal for reconciliation.

3d. To show my anxiety for restitution of Peace, I will appoint Mr. Elling to be pastor on condition of making acknowledgment and submission to the universally received doctrines of the Church and authority of the Bishop. To save his credit before the public I will content myself with this being done in a private manner, as I shall describe to Mr. Carr.

4. When the Reunion is agreed to, notice shall be given of the termination of the dissension.

5. There must be an acknowledgment made in writing by Trustees to my V. General of the authority:

A memorandum adds: "Same day wrote Elling, 'I was glad to see your handwriting once more'."

Father Elling to Bishop Carroll, December 8, 1801:

Right Revd. & Dear Sir:

I was extremely pleased, when a few days ago your favour of Nov. 18th & 19 was handed to me, in which you mention that you had commissioned Rev. Mr. Carr to receive pro-

posal of a reunion between you and us of Holy Trinity Church.

Mr. Carr & I met together yesterday at Mr. Primer's, & after a mutual communication of opinions I told Mr. Carr that in my opinion the only one most peaceful way of effecting a reunion would be

1st to bury into an everlasting oblivion all kinds of animosities occasioned by the unhappy differences beginning in the year 1796 and lasting till this day.

2ndy to withdraw all lawsuits and then

3thly to transact everything so as it was done ante dividium. If you will not disturb the congregation at Holy Trinity in the exercise of their rights, which they claim as Free & independent citizens, Subject to nothing but the laws of God & the land where they live, on which account they surely have the same power of choosing & rejecting what other most Christian, most Catholic, most Apostolic & most faithful nations or their Kings & parliaments have chosen or rejected: If you let them enjoy their rights, then they will never fall out with you, they will love & revere you. I am sure they will not then hesitate to present me to you as the object of their choice to be their pastor and all things will be done with the greatest harmony & edification.

May the God of peace dwell in your heart and all will be at once settled. I remain with the highest veneration

Right Rev. & Dear Sir

Yr. m. o. h. sert.

WM. ELLING.

P S very often I would have written to you these five years but I always apprehended that you would not like it to enter into any correspondence with me. But Mr. Carr encouraged me by saying if not I myself would communicate these proposals which I asked him to transmit to you.

Father Elling to Bishop Carroll, January 6, 1802:

R. Revd. & Dear Sir:

Yesterday I had the most singular pleasure of being informed by Mr. Oellers that the lawsuits had been taken out. There is now nothing else left but to bury all past animosities and differences into an everlasting oblivion, and then be Sure dear Sir, that always things shall be done So as they were once. I shall always acknowledge in you our Common Father & Bishop, So as I did formerly. It was a great consolation to me in 1791 when at New York you assured me upon your own accord that you would always be a Father to me, I ask one thousand times pardon, my dear Sir. I never was to my knowledge looked upon as a litigious man whilst living in Europe, and always preferred peace to quarrelings and altercations: was it not winter I would have immediately gone to see you at Baltimore, I have some very interesting communications to make to you; which in so far as you are our Common Father & pastor will certainly please you and convince you that I have the Sincerest desire to promote our holy religion, in erecting a new mission. I shall however do nothing without your advice and therefore in about two months go to see you. When I wrote you last from Cobneck after you had written me: "I must leave it to yourself to look out for a Settlement not having any other in my disposal to your Strength," I answered you that the Lord would provide. My humble hopes have been realized and freely I will give back to the merciful Providence for the best of our holy religion what I have received of her. The greatest difficulty will be in finding a Clergyman, who would do the Service for at least one Sunday. I shall be happy in constantly keeping a most friendly intercourse with the Reverd. gentlemen of St. Mary's and St. Augustine's, but I know that their number is no more than is hardly sufficient for their own Churches. I was under no greater affliction but this, that I would not confer these five years with them, none came to see, So I did not dare to go and see them, always apprehending that I was not welcome and less received for consolation. Now I hope in God that I shall finish my days in peace, harmony & friendship with all the world. I conclude my letter heartily

wishing that this new year may be to you a Source of Blessing of health, happiness and contentedness and remain with highest veneration.

WILLIAM ELLING.

Measures for the restoration of actual peace are set forth in Father Carr's letter to Bishop Carroll, January 28, 1802:

Right Revd. Sir:

I thank you most sincerely for the seasonable relief you have given to my uneasiness of mind, indeed from the moment you condescended to appoint Mr. Elling Pastor of Trinity Church, I look'd on all Mr. Helbron's claims annull'd; allow me now to congratulate with you on the happy termination of this very unhappy business. To avoid putting you to the expense of postage, I send you a transcript of Elling's acknowledgment, the original you shall have by the first opportunity; the form you prescribed to the trustees I have seen signed by Oellers & Primer with the seal of the Corporation, the day is uncommonly rainy, Oellers going about to have the signatures of the other trustees this evening. I have raised the censures on Elling, reconciled the Church in company with him & in presence of the Trustees Oellers & Primer, and have promised to have it announced that I will preach in Trinity Church the Sunday after next. I have conversed with our Brethren about the probability of succeeding in the restrictions you mention concerning Lent, long usage & criminal habits of violating positive precepts make their compliance very improbable. I request you may be pleased to inform me, whether you restrict to one meal of flesh meat on Sundays or not: they being in the practice of eating flesh meat several times on Sundays; last year I recollect rightly the dispensation was limited to Palm Sunday exclusive.

I am in such a hurry to communicate the pleasing intelligence of our reconciliation, that I earnestly entreat your indulgence for this hasty scroll remaining with the profoundest respect and highest consideration.

Yr most obedient & devoted Servant

M. CARR.

Jan. 28th 1802.

Father Elling's formal submission reads as follows:

I the undersigned profess and promise canonical obedience to the Right Reverend Bishop of Baltimore & his Successors for the time being and according to the tenor of the Brief of his Holiness of Pious Memory Pius VI for the erection of the Episcopal See of Baltimore and I hold myself subject to the authority & jurisdiction of the said Bishop in such manner, that I cannot lawfully and validly exercise any pastoral Function or administer the Sacraments without his express licence, or after the said licence shall be duly revoked.

I likewise promise privately but efficaciously to admonish the faithful of the Catholic Church that such a licence from the aforesaid Bishop is indispensibly necessary to authorize any priest to administer validly the Sacrament of penance.

WILLIAM ELLING.

Philadelphia 1802, Jan. 28.

*Endorsed: "Copy of Mr.
Elling's Subm".*

Perhaps a close reading between the lines of this parish trouble will incline us to sympathize with Thompson Westcott's view of Father Elling, in *History of Philadelphia*: "Father Elling was a man of good sense, and in these troubles had probably been involved by the impetuosity of the Trustees rather than by his approval of his conduct.

On January 29, 1802, Father Carr transmitted to Bishop Carroll the Trustees' act of submission:

Right Reverend Sir:

I had the honour of writing to you on last Saturday and of sending to you a copy of Mr. Elling's submission & acknowledgment. I had not received the act of the trustees completely perfected until after I had posted my letter, the happy termination of this business has given universal joy, much of the success is to be ascribed to Primer's conduct. He had

shut the doors of Trinity Church against Elling and assured the other trustees that he would entirely withdraw himself from them unless they complied with the terms required. By the first opportunity I will forward the original act signed & sealed by the Trustees, a copy of which I have transcribed on the other side. On next Sunday according to promise I am to preach in Trinity Church. Young Smith who studied with Dougherty in Rome I believe has inclination to be married to a first cousin of his own. I request you may please to give me every information you deem necessary on that subject.

With the profoundest respect I continue Right Reverend Sir

Yr most humble devoted Servant

M. CARR.

The foregoing letter was duly endorsed with the said act of submission on the part of Holy Trinity Trustees:

We the Trustees of the German Religious Society of Roman Catholics of the Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia, Do hereby acknowledge for ourselves and our Constituents members worshipping in the said Church, that we hold ourselves subject to the Episcopal authority and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baltimore for the time being and according to the tenor of the Brief of his holiness of pious memory, Pius Sixth, for the erection of the Episcopal see of Baltimore and we promise to yield true obedience to the said Bishop conformably to the powers lawfully vested in him.

In witness whereof the said Trustees of the German Religious Society of Roman Catholics of the Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia have set their hands and caused the seal of their Corporation to be affixed this 29th day of January Anno Domini 1802.

[Signed by James Oellers, Adam Primer, and six other names which the transcript styles illegible.]

Now that peace was restored, pastor and congregation

set about repairing the damages due to the long controversy, which had not only wrought injury to devotion, but had also impaired the material interests of the parish. Debts pended; the school needed support, and a new pastoral residence was desirable. Not all of us would nowadays approve the plan adopted for financial betterment, namely, recourse to a lottery. In those days, however, this expedient was even ratified by legislative enactment (March 25, 1803). The amount authorized to be thus realized was \$10,000.

On January 4, 1803, George E. Lechler and Joseph Boehm, veteran parishioners of Holy Trinity, conveyed to the "German Religious Society of Roman Catholics of Holy Trinity Church" a lot of burial ground, 26 by 282 feet; southern portion of St. Mary's graveyard. Title to this ground was taken by an original group of fifteen laymen, on February 29, 1768, of whom Lechler and Boehm still alone survived. Watson's *Annals* apprise us that the primitive site of Holy Trinity German Church lay "far out of town, a long and muddy walk", over unpaved streets yet void of houses, and "quite beyond civilization".

A passing allusion to the closed controversy still comes to the surface in a letter from the Rev. Father Brosius to Bishop Carroll, September 17, 1805: "I cannot but praise Mr. Beeston (the Rev. Francis Beeston) for his zeal for the good of the schismatic Germans".

In 1805 it was deemed needful to secure an assistant to Father Elling; to which end the Trustees made application to Bishop Carroll in the following terms:

"We the Subscribers Trustees of the Religious Society of German Roman Catholics of the Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia do hereby impower and appoint Mr. James Oellers one of the Trustees and Secretary of the said

Society to wait on the Right Reverend John Carroll Bishop of Baltimore and to consult with him and to request of him the favour to appoint the Reverend Herman Joseph Stocker at present pastor of the Roman Catholic Church at Lancaster their second pastor of the said Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia this 22d Day of October annoque Domini 1805.

ADAM PREMIER
CONRAD COOPER
MATHIAS KREBEL
ADAM OPFERMANN
GEORGE WAHMAN
PHILIP STRUNK."

Bishop Carroll drafted his answer on the back of the foregoing document, as follows:

The subscriber has considered attentively the respectful request of the Trustees of the Church of the Most Holy Trinity of Philadelphia, in which they desire to have the Revd. Mr. Stocker, now pastor at Lancaster, for the second pastor of Trinity Church aforesaid. The Subscriber would willingly grant a request which he believes to have for its object the honour of God and benefit of the Congregation resorting to that Church but the Congn. is not without spiritual help or necessary ministrations, services for Catholic worship & adm. of Scts. whereas our Brethren of the Lancaster & its surrounding Congregations would be quite destitute if the Rev. Mr. Stocker were now removed from them. Late advices from Europe give reason to hope for a speedy supply of German Clergymen and if at their arrival, Mr. Stocker should be desirous of leaving Lancaster & accepting charge in Trinity Church, the Subscriber will readily comply with the desire of the Trustees, making however such arrangements for him as will be suitable to his respectable character.

[Baltimore, October 28, 1805].

Some fog of the former controversy seems to have

clouded the Trustees once again, when they devised the following letter to Bishop Carroll (September 8, 1806):

Right Reverend Sir:

The Revd. Wm. Elling our present pastor has showed us this morning a letter dated the 5th Inst. from your Right Reverend, informing us that our letter dated the 28th ulto. has not come to your hands, which was directed to Baltimore, and has been there delayed, also if your Right Reverend would not hear from us before the 15th inst., that we would be so unfortunate of losing the Revd. Clergyman lately arrived from Europe, therefore not losing this favourable opportunity, we send here Enclosed the Duplicates of the former, which explains matters fully, excepting the claim of the first 8 months, of which we beg leave to inform your Right Reverend.

The Revd. Mr. Helbron left our Church about the 15th of October, 1795, when the Revd. Mr. Goetz mentioned to us that there was no holy oil etc: etc: in the Church, and that he was in want of a Ritual, Mr. Oellers wrote to the Revd. W. Elling, then at Reading, who shortly sent, what was wanting, on the first day of Nov. Next arrived unexpected the Revd. W. Elling, who offered his services, the Church, when he was informed, that it was impossible to employ him: the Church being too much in Debt and that we were not able to pay two clergymen, he offered then to keep school, and would officiate voluntary and occasionally, at the same time it would be a great resource to the Church of having him at hand, when the Revd. Mr. Goetz should happen to be indisposed; as the Congregation was not provided at that time with a Schoolhouse, the Revd. Mr. Goetz offered to advance \$400 towards building a Schoolhouse, which he would allow from the first yearly salary, if Mr. Oellers would advance the Balance for the same, saying, that he had money sufficient of his own to live one year. The Trustees allowed the Schoolhouse to be builded on their lot, as it was expected, that the School would be productive, after the Schoolhouse was finished. Mr. Oellers had advertised the opening of the School under the Direction of

the Revds. Messrs. Goetz and Elling and also himself, he kept his sons from Georgetown College, who in concert with the sons of Mathew Irwin Esq., the sons of alderman Reynold Keen Esq., and others made a Beginning, besides there was a number of young gentlemen promised to come, who each of them were to pay \$50 per annum, and there was not the least doubt of 50 such scholars so that the School would produce a revenue of \$2500 per annum, consequently it would have amply provided for the professors of the same if their conduct would have been approved off; Mr. Oellers had engaged an English Teacher at the rate of £100 per annum for three hours attendance per Diem, but to the greatest Surprise, the Revd. Mr. Elling, whose whole dependance relayed on the success of the school, was the most deficient in his conduct, so that insted of encreasing the numbers of the Scholars, he aggregated (?) the Revd. M. Goetz so much that he went to the parents of the Schoolers, who were expected, and told them that they should not send their children to the School on acct. of him, and informed them, that he was not fit of having the care of them, and as soon as the first quarter's salary became due to the Revd. Mr. Goetz, he demanded his salary, and would not allow it towards the Schoolhouse and they both deserted Mr. Oellers, and he had to pay for the Schoolhouse, untill the Trustees for a long while afterwards repaid him, in considering all these circumstances, it would be more Laudable for the Revd. W. Elling, on whose account the Schoolhouse was erected to make up the loss, Mr. Oellers sustained through his misconduct, Instead of Demanding 8 months salary; for which he can't show the least agreement, we would not have communicated the above to your Right Reverend, if we had been favoured with an answer of our letter as the Revd. Mr. Elling has since nothing mentioned about this claim, and perhaps may bring it again on the carpet, we want to provide you with the circumstances of it.

We beg therefore the favour of your Right Revd. to send to our Church the Revd. clergyman as soon, as it may be convenient, particularly as the Revd. Mr. Elling has not been able to preach for some weeks past, and is amply provided

for, besides his contract will be fulfilled with the greatest Justice. We have the Honor to be with the greatest Esteem and veneration

Right Reverend Sir

Your most obdt. humble Servant.

By order of James Oellers Secretarius the Trustees of the Holy Trinity Church.

Obviously, the complaining tone of this letter as touching Father Elling's "deficient" conduct while teaching, contradicts the Trustees' positive insistence on retaining him for their pastor against every dissentient will, voice or factor. At least we are grateful to learn that their money contentions were settled peaceably, and agreeably to those concerned. Father Elling became incapacitated in 1806; and his last baptismal record is dated February 23 of that year. His claim to the pension which he should have received when retiring from active duty was adjusted in October, 1806, when he accepted \$800 in full settlement of all demands. His resignation bore date of October 25, 1806. He was succeeded by Father Britt.

We subjoin Father Elling's valedictory letter (October 5; 1806) to Bishop Carroll, from the pastorate of Holy Trinity.

With these I am happy to announce to you that all and everything is settled to the general satisfaction of all parties concerned. Before the end of this week: I suppose to-morrow: I shall be so happy as to hand in my resignation to the Rev. Mr. Britt (as above noted, the resignation dates from October 25) who indeed acted the officium boni viri between me and the corporation, but I shall oblige him too. Your favour of September 22 to me was read in the full meeting of the Trustees this afternoon and shortly after they sent for me and the agreement was made that they would give me \$200 per annum reserving to themselves to buy at any time the pension with \$800. Whereas you have so generously assisted

me by your paternal protection from the beginning till to the end of this delicate business the remembrance of your name will always be a blessing to me. I have bought a peace (*piece*) of choice land situated on the public road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, Bedford County Providence township, looked upon the best among the best within seven miles of that neighborhood, one hundred miles nearer to Philadelphia than that of late R. M. Browsers. The stage passes once a week by the place but I don't know if there are Catholics: if not my residing there may perhaps attract some. I should be happy if before I die, I did know my place was the property of a religious order which from the fourth Century has existed and still exists, that would be superior to any College, on account of education with almost no expenses. Next week I shall leave Philadelphia, before I start I shall give Mr. Britt very important informations and I shall do him great service on account of the French people whose attendance I have almost monopolized. More at a future day; at present I ask your blessing, kiss your hands & remain with the highest respect.

A memorandum has it that Father Britt wrote to Bishop Carroll (February 17, 1897) that a priest was needed at Holy Trinity who could hear confessions in English and preach in English; that he (Father Britt) had written to Father Molyneux to send Father Kohlman, who, having spent four months in London and longer at Georgetown, was now competent.

On March 17, 1807, Father Elling was at Bedford, as we note from his later correspondence with Bishop Carroll. He returned to Philadelphia on November 29, 1809, and wrote to the Bishop that he was on the "eve of departure for New Orleans, where I intend to buy a little property if possible". It is not likely that he made such purchase, for he died in Philadelphia on April 2, 1811. By will of March 1, 1811, he bequeathed his property to his nephew, Ludwig Goelhardt, of Bamberg, Ba-

varia. The executors were Louis Hammer and Matthias James O'Conway. The will was proved on April 5. His executors advertised the notice: "All persons indebted to the estate of Rev. William Elling, lately deceased, are requested to make immediate payment, and those who have any demands against the same will render their accounts duly authenticated to the subscribers.

"LOUIS HAMMER and

"MATTHIAS JAMES CONWAY,

"Executors".

[*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, May 11, 1811.]

We find a diary memorandum showing (July 30, 1811) that a Mass of Requiem was offered for the soul of the Rev. William Elling. Be this our best farewell to his earthly ashes.

LIFE OF BISHOP CONWELL OF PHILADELPHIA

BY MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

CHAPTER II. (*Continued.*)

TO THE RIGHT REV. HENRY CONWELL, BISHOP OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Right Rev. Sir :

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the Congregation of St. Mary's Church, publicly called, We, the undersigned, were unanimously appointed a committee to draft a Memorial to you to be signed by us and the congregation, soliciting the reinstatement of the Rev. William Hogan. In the discharge of this duty, we have been guided by a disinterested attachment to the cause of our religion ; and we submit the following as the result of our deliberation.

With highest consideration and respect

JOHN LEAMY
JOHN ASHLEY
JOSEPH DUGAN
MICHAEL DORAN
TIM'T DESMOND

Right Rev. Sir :

When we reflect on the present enlightened period of civilization, and the infant state of the Roman Catholic Religion in this country, we conceive that not only its advancement, but even its preservation demands the example and exertions of clergymen, admired for their learning and eloquence, distinguished for their piety, and eminent for their zeal. The success of Catholicity in a country where religious toleration is established, must depend on the clergy. In proportion as they are learned, eloquent and pious, the Catholic faith becomes an object of admiration and devotion because the medium through which it is conveyed, is pure and resplendent. We

believe that the Rev. William Hogan possesses these qualifications. This opinion has been formed from actual observation of his conduct and exertions. Previous to his coming to this city the Roman Catholic Religion was in a state of somnolency; the fire of faith burnt feebly in the bosoms of many Catholics; defection was manifesting itself; coldness and indifference to public worship had appeared; the Catholic children were not instructed in the principles of their religion; the shivering orphan and child of want, unprotected by the limited means of our orphan asylum appealed to our charity and secured a scanty pittance. We hailed the arrival of the Rev. William Hogan with pleasure. He broke the lethargy that was pervading the congregation, he fed the fire of faith with the oil of religion; defection was changed into enthusiastic attachment; coldness and indifference was changed into ardour and interest for the religion of their ancestors; the children of the congregation were instructed; the fountains of charity were opened; the orphan and destitute child were clothed; the gospel was preached in the refuge of poverty, the Alms House. We have viewed the private and public conduct of the Rev. William Hogan and consider it pious and exemplary. The establishment of a Sunday School and Catechism Society, and the monthly contributions of the Catholics at St. Mary's Church, to provide books and clothing for the poor children attest that our opinions and assertions are beyond contradiction. The benefits derived from the exertions of the Rev. William Hogan were so sudden and extensive, that we dwell on his merits with satisfaction.

In recognizing you as the Bishop of the diocese we know the high responsibility that your office imposes, and the respect and obedience that you deserve and ought to require. We entertain no doubt that when you act from your own judgment, your decision will be just and merciful. Perhaps you will not think it irrelevant to state that St. Mary's Church is the property of the laity and the clergy are supported by them.

We deeply regret for your individual peace and support for the interests of Religion, and for that of Rev. William

Hogan, that you have prevented him from discharging his duty as a clergyman in your Diocese.

We solicit his restoration to his former situation and pray you to prevent the lamentable effects that will follow a refusal.

Whereto the Bishop:

To the gentlemen composing the Committee appointed by a meeting of the Congregation of St. Mary's Church.

Dear Children in Christ,

Before I undertook the episcopal charge, I had communications from Rome, as well as from this country, informing me of the state of religion here. I learned that the Church of the United States was in great confusion, and that anarchy prevailed in many places: that suspended priests were in the exercise of ecclesiastical functions, and seduced many into their errors, and that a schism, in consequence of this was apprehended, and was actually impending.

On examining into the causes of such confusion, I had reason to believe that much of it was to be ascribed to speculating adventurers among the clergy, who, forgetting their duty, endeavoured to mislead the people, by signifying that Bishops could not exercise authority in this country, from the nature of the constitution of the United States; that, consequently, the clergy were subject to no control; that if by any chance they got leave to preach or officiate in any church, they could claim a right to a permanent living in that church, and even a right to subvert all order, by defying and despising the Bishop, and bringing his authority into contempt and ridicule: for this purpose they made it their chief study to court popular favour, to excite a revolutionary spirit among all ranks and principally to gain the friendship of such gentlemen as commanded the purse of the congregation; in order to alarm the Bishop, and to make him conceive or imagine, that, when duty called upon him to deprive and divest such ecclesiastics of the right of exercising functions or faculties, he might be deterred from so doing, by being left destitute of support, inasmuch as his existence depended on the laity.

This was the view I had of the state of things here, before I came to this country ; therefore there was no occasion to bring this last circumstance before me, in the document I have received purporting to be the memorial of St. Mary's Congregation.

Gentlemen, I would have a poor opinion of myself indeed, and would certainly consider myself very unworthy of being ranked among the successors of the Apostles as a Christian Bishop, if such threats could have the least influence on my conduct. The Apostles were ready to suffer every kind of persecution, rather than deviate from their duty, and even rejoiced when occasions occurred of their suffering for the name of Jesus.

The welfare of the church is my object ; I am responsible to God, at His awful tribunal for my conduct on this, as well as on every other transaction of my life ; and such is my respect for you, and for those of St. Mary's congregation who may be induced to think as you do ; that nothing gives me greater pain of mind at the present moment, than the necessity I find myself under, of differing in opinion from such members of the congregation as may be led to pursue the step they have adopted by having taken a wrong view of the subject under consideration. But it consoles me to be well assured, as I am, that, when the whole bearing of the case comes under their impartial and dispassionate observation, they will be unanimously of my opinion.

I know that it appears to many at the present time that my compliance with the object of the memorial would be a prudent and rational measure, and conducive to the interests of Religion ; but, on the contrary, it plainly appears to me, that my compliance would produce the worst possible effects and consequences—effects that would confound and disturb the church much more than a total schism in the congregation, which would be merely local : but a deviation from my duty by allowing myself to be led astray on this occasion, would unhinge the hierarchy, undermine church government, destroy subordination, and subvert all rule and order in the church here and elsewhere throughout the United States.

Therefore I implore you to reconsider the case, and review

your conduct. Revolutionary movements tend always to disorder. Think well and seriously on this and leave me to do my duty. Excuse this simple style; it is plain and intelligible, which the language of a father to his children should be.

The Church of Philadelphia was planted by men the most eminent for their zeal, learning and piety; and many yet remain, who co-operated in the same cause, both by word and example, who ought not to have been excluded from their share of praise, in the memorial in question, which contains nothing but the fulsome panegyric of an individual, implying a censure on many great Missionaries, dead and alive. The innuendo in the conclusion, that St. Mary's church is the property of the laity, and that the clergy are supported by them, should have been avoided. But it makes me see more plainly, that the object of the memorial was to force me to act against conscience, *per fas et nefas*. Begging that you will not construe any expression contained in this hasty answer into disrespect or want of consideration for you or any of the congregation, or intended to slight your or their opinions,

I am with the tenderest love and regard,

Your spiritual Father in God,

HENRY CONWELL,

Bishop of Philadelphia.

To John Leamy and the Committee, &c.

Across both of these documents the shadow of impending schism broods visibly. The latent issue is far more momentous than the fate of Hogan. The language of the memorial is not that of apprehension, but of intimidation; whilst the scarcely veiled threats between the lines, indicate a willingness on the part of at least some of the authors to dare "the lamentable effects that will follow a refusal," in order to join issue on the question of controlling the appointment of pastors. The Bishop seems so thoroughly possessed of the ideas he had acquired before his coming, that he believed a con-

test unavoidable, and hence his apparently deliberate choice of fighting the matter out at once, lest authority should incur still further injury by temporizing.

The petitioners were in error on more than one point. If, as they represented themselves, they were loyal Catholics pleading for the reversal of an act within the Bishop's right, their threats were poor arguments for any such purpose, and might easily have driven to rigorous extremes a man of cooler temper than the Bishop. He was of the opinion "that a certain congregation," doubtless including the memorialists "had the character of being only nominal Catholics,"¹ and there is evidence that there was much truth in this opinion. Their "fulsome panegyric" of Hogan was indeed, as the Bishop scored it, reproachful to others. Afterwards, too, he charged that "their encomium on Hogan for learning, piety and zeal, they could not but know to be false."² Neither was their hint that St. Mary's Church belonged to the laity, strictly correct; for the title was held by the Rev. Francis Neale, of Maryland.

Bishop England confirms Bishop Conwell as to conceptions of the American Church abroad. "The first intimation I had was a letter from Rome, representing the Catholic Church in America to be in imminent danger of extinction from the uncanonical usurpation of the laity in some places, and the unprincipled conduct of a few of the clergy who in place of upholding the discipline of the Church, misled the people and involved them in schism."³

No doubt there was much warrant for the facts thus alleged and the direful anticipations thence deduced by our Catholic Prelates must needs have been enhanced by

¹ *Concatenation*, p. 59.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Works V*, p. 145.

their distrust of revolutionists and of republican principles yet unripened by the sure growth of time.

The Bishop's reply to the memorial was much discussed. "At such a decision," said Mathew Carey, "his friends must weep, his enemies rejoice, and on calm reflection he himself on his deathbed moan over it with tears of blood."¹

On the other had, we note the Rev. William Harold's comment in 1822:² "His letter will be found to contain sound principles, and good sense and unexceptionable reasoning, expressed in terms becoming his duty and his station."

A "Catholic Layman" (Carey) in his "Desultory Examination of the Reply," thus further pronounced in behalf of Hogan: "I am mistaken if there be one impartial man in the city or state, capable of judging on the subject, who will not unhesitatingly admit that the opinion was incorrect and the decision lamentably unfortunate. This measure was excessively imprudent." As to the Bishop's conviction that his compliance with the memorial would confound and disturb the Church more than a schism in the congregation, Carey³ thus bewailed: "This schism has taken place. It still exists and it is not within human foresight to calculate when it is likely to terminate. It has destroyed the peace and wounded the honour of a respectable congregation. It has entered (almost) every family. It has entered (almost) every heart. Friendship and charity and domestic peace have perished as it advanced. All these awful scenes, in addition to assaults and batteries, and bloodshed, which might easily have been anticipated, were regarded as

¹Reply to a Catholic Layman's Rejoinder.

²Address to the Bishop of Pennsylvania, &c., by a Catholic Layman.

³*Ibid.*

preferable to a compliance with the ardent wishes of the largest congregation in Philadelphia for the forgiveness of what at most can be styled petulance and impertinence."

Evidently the controversy was proceeding (after due allowance for heightened rhetoric in the reports of it) with more acrimony than charity. But the bounds of truth and charity were to be still further exceeded as argument fermented.

Towards the close of that year (1820) the Rt. Rev. Patrick Kelly, of Kilkenny, Ireland, passed through Philadelphia. He had left Kilkenny on October 9, 1820, reached New York on December 24, and so came over to Philadelphia, where he spent six weeks with Bishop Conwell. He had been appointed to the prematurely created See of Richmond. He left for Baltimore, doubtless confirmed in the belief held by Bishops Conwell and England, that America was a hotbed of unruly Catholics imbued with notions of republicanism that was destructive of all authority; an impression current among European ecclesiastics generally; nor fully effaced from the minds of some of them, even the best of a century later.

The adherents of Bishop Conwell gathered round him at the "little church of St. Joseph's the cradle of Catholicity" in Philadelphia. Here, on Christmas night (so Bishop Conwell asserted), an attempt was made to burn the church. A chunk of burning wood was carried in a newspaper and laid against the door of St. Joseph's, which was beginning to blaze when discovered by a party who came to be married. (Letter to Archbishop Maréchal, January 22, 1831; *Baltimore Archives*). "This infamous man," added the Bishop, "is capable of anything.

Thus the very day of Our Lord's Nativity, when strife would be expected at least to postpone its fury, was

made the occasion of outrage against the house of God. Such was the close of that year upon the distracted Church of Philadelphia. Dissension and ill-will were already rampant; revolt and ambition were preparing to confront and defy authority sustained by *Fortitude*.

CHAPTER III

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1821

ORDINATION OF REV. BERNARD KEENAN AND REV. THOMAS HAYDEN. CHARGES AGAINST HOGAN BY REV. JOHN FARNAN AND REV. GEORGE D. HOGAN. HOGAN'S APPEAL TO ARCHBISHOP MARÉCHAL. THE FIRST HOGANITE TRUSTEES. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN BISHOP CONWELL AND ARCHBISHOP MARÉCHAL. HOGAN'S FIRST AND SECOND PAMPHLETS. PREPARING FOR THE NEXT MEASURE.

The beginning of 1821 finds Bishop Conwell officiating at St. Mary's, untroubled by Mr. Hogan or the trustees; his assistants being the Rev. George Sheufelter and the Rev. James Cummiskey, whom the Bishop afterward surnamed the Rev. *Peddler*, from the fact that he employed agents and that he himself traveled at times, to sell Catholic books: especially, "Christian Perfection", by Father Alfonso Rodriguez, S. J. Father Cummiskey was an elder brother of Eugene Cummiskey, for many years the Catholic bookseller of Philadelphia. (Rev. P. A. Jordan, Woodstock Letters, January '74).

The trustees were indisposed to give trouble, for the reason that the majority of those in office at this time were favorable to the Bishop and not to Hogan. His partisans were not elected until April. As to Hogan himself, if he could not yet interfere with the Bishop's officiating at St.

Mary's, nevertheless, as we shall see, he was contriving mischief.

During the month of January, the Bishop reinforced his clergy by ordaining the Rev. Bernard Keenan and the Rev. Thomas Hayden. Mr. Keenan was a nephew of Bishop Conwell, and came with him from Ireland. He was ordained on January 1, 1821. However, he was not stationed in Philadelphia, but at Emmitsburg, Maryland, until the death of the Rev. John Holland, Pastor at Lancaster. So in 1823, Father Keenan succeeded to the Lancaster charge, and filled the same all of fifty-four years till his death in 1877, at the age of 97. Mr. Hayden was ordained in St. Mary's Church on May 1st. In a letter dated January 22, 1821, to Archbishop Maréchal, Bishop Conwell inquires with reference to Hayden's ordination, concerning the practice in America when candidates were born and brought up in Europe; whether the Bishop of their origin have claim to them, or is an exeat necessary, or does a Bishop who admits them without an exeat violate the canons and incur censures? In short, is a Bishop justified in employing priests from Europe without an exeat? Can the state of religion warrant his doing so, and are there documents from Rome herein? It is apparent in this letter that the Bishop was seeking confirmation of his opinions concerning Hogan's canonical standing, as also Mr. Hayden's.

Father Keenan's ordination was drawn into the Hogan controversy in the pamphlet issued by Hogan on February 2, 1821. Wherein he said: "It would be cruelty to charge His Lordship with Nepotism, but really, his having immediately on his arrival ordained his Nephew, a young man of more than ordinary talents, and sufficient accidental gravity, whom His Lordship during a boisterous passage of thirty-five days has Miraculously prepared and whose mind he stored with a fund of natural philosophy, moral and speculative theology sufficient for an American Mission, would justify a conjecture of the kind."

not even under the vulgar pretext of your being innocent and persecuted.

A. M., A. B.

Baltimore 21st of January 1821.

May God the author and source of all consolation support you, my dear Lord in your great tribulations.

I am respectfully

Your Humble obedient servant

Amb. A. B. Balt.

Two letters written during this month by Bishop Conwell to Archbishop Maréchal have already been cited in these pages. In the first, dated January 21, he speaks of his refractory people, and hopes that the Lord "has given him fortitude the cardinal virtue and gift of the Holy Ghost", and that "with the help of God I shall ever remain unshaken, and without fear or terror continue to support the discipline of the Church, let their threats be what they may. . . . Thank God our little church here of St. Joseph's, the cradle of Catholicity throughout the Northern States, does not belong to Lay Trustees. It is still the property of the Society of Jesus which planted religion in this country and should never be forgotten." He relates the attempt to burn the Church on Christmas night. "This infamous man is capable of anything: he never was pastor of St. Mary's, he was removable ad nutum at all times. I never used the word suspension. I merely withdrew faculties from him, for I was cautious and guarded from the beginning."

In the second letter, January 31, he wrote that he was grateful for answer to communication relative to the wicked man (worse than Luther ever was) "whom I have to struggle with. Hogan has rented a Protestant church and intends to preach and probably say Mass for a people to be called Independent Catholics, at \$800 a year. He intends opening an Academy: advise me. I fear I cannot even

declared that William had been suspended by Bishop Tuohiv of Limerick.

On January 16, Hogan wrote to Archbishop Maréchal, as follows:

Most Rev. Sir:

I have written to you about a month ago immediately after Dr. Conwell deprived me of my living in this diocese, requesting you would interfere as I conceive you were in duty bound and see justice done me. Your not having answered my letter induces me to think it must have miscarried. Whether you have received it or not, you are, I am sure, ere now in possession of the injustice of Dr. Conwell's proceedings. I again call on you as Metropolitan, to have him and me brought before an ecclesiastical court consisting of Your Lordship and a sufficient number of clergymen to see and know why and for what reason he has deprived me of my living. If he can show cause for silencing me I shall not only submit but even retire; but if he cannot, I call upon you to act towards him and me as the laws and canons of the Roman Catholic Church direct.

I have the honour to be, Your Lordship's Humble Servant.

WILLIAM HOGAN.

January 16th, 1821.

Archbishop Maréchal's answer to this appeal was communicated to Bishop Carroll in the following letter, and made public by him:

Baltimore, 21st January 1821.

My Dear Lord,

I think it my duty to communicate to you my answer to the new appeal of Mr. Hogan to me as metropolitan:

Rev. Sir:

After the public appeal you made to the congregation of St. Mary's by the most abominable pamphlet that has ever disgraced the Church of God in this country you have no longer any right whatever to call on me as Metropolitan: no,

not even under the vulgar pretext of your being innocent and persecuted.

A. M., A. B.

Baltimore 21st of January 1821.

May God the author and source of all consolation support you, my dear Lord in your great tribulations.

I am respectfully

Your Humble obedient servant

Amb. A. B. Balt.

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threaten people with Church censures who may go to his church; shall they be allowed to go with impunity? What shall I say to prevent bad people going? The good will not go to him; no person but yourself to give me consolation."

So far the trustees of St. Mary's had taken no part in the dispute. The majority of those who now held office were adherents of the Bishop in these affairs. There is no record of any meeting held between May 3, 1820 and February, 1821. In August, 1820, the members of the congregation in public meeting had assumed duties which would ordinarily fall to the trustees; by providing, that is to say, for a separate residence for Hogan. Hence we may infer that a majority of the board would have opposed that measure. From the minutes of the meeting held on February 13, we learn that Bishop Conwell was present for the first time at a meeting held on February 10. Doubtless he would have been present had there been a meeting at an earlier date after his arrival; presumably, then, there were no such meetings. At the meeting on February 13, at which the Right Rev. Henry Conwell, Rev. T. McGirr and Rev. J. Cummiskey were present, formal protest was made by three of the trustees against the (illegal) proceedings adopted at an unconstitutional meeting held on the 10th instant, composed of Rt. Rev. H. Conwell, Rev. T. McGirr, Rev. J. Cummiskey, Philip Smith, Hugh Cavanaugh, Edward McDermott and Dennis McCready. The said meeting did not comprise the requisite number of Trustees to form a quorum; seeing that the Third Section of the Act of Incorporation expressly and absolutely declares "that the clergymen and laymen who are duly appointed and elected at the time and in the mode designated in the charter shall continue to be Trustees until the next annual election, and no provision in any shape is made to supply any vacancy that may occur by death, resignation, or any other cause: from which it clearly and evidently follows that two of the

clergymen who attended that meeting are not Trustees, and their presuming to act as such was an unconstitutional and unlawful usurpation and rendered any proceedings in which they took part illegal and invalid." This protest was signed on the minute book by the objectors, John Dempsey, Patrick Connell and John Doyle, Secretary. In the absence of the charter, it is difficult to determine whether their objection was founded in law; but whether or not, their conclusion "clearly and evidently followed". And as Father McGirr had been longest of the three in the office of pastor at St. Mary's, the censure points plainly to the Bishop and Father Cummiskey. But if we suppose the pastors of St. Mary's to have been *ex officio* members of the board, not subject to election, yonder inference from the words of the charter would seem to have been an untenable quibble. The precise nature of the proceedings under censure does not appear; but the fact that the clergy were singled out for attack, together with the subsequent action of the objectors, makes it likely that the protest was put forward in the interest of Hogan: in which case this minority might claim the questionable honor of being the first Hoganite board of Trustees. Hogan had issued his first "Address to the Congregation of St. Mary's" soon after the withdrawal of his faculties. The second part, entitled "A Continuation of an Address to the Congregation", appeared on February 2, 1821. This time he handled many points in the controversy; some of them with considerable plausibility: but the most momentous point was, that he declared he would resume the exercise of his functions within fourteen days despite the Bishop's censures. He cited Canon Law to show that Conwell had not "observed the rules and canons of the Church in the government of his diocese and clergy, but had set up his own caprice as the unerring standard." (We have here to deal with that "most abominable pamphlet", reproved by the Archbishop).

I am under no censure whatever, and Dr. Conwell is suspended, irregular and disqualified from officiating. I beg leave to inform the public that I will, in fourteen days from the date hereof, resume the exercise of my functions: this space I allow to give him an opportunity of taking a retrospective view of the injustice of his conduct towards me, and making some atonement to the public for his manifest and scandalous usurpation of authority, equally detrimental to religion and ruinous to his own soul. I despair not of a favorable issue. Yes, it is a noble and just cause and its attainment I shall canonically pursue though it should cost me my existence. Let me once more endeavour to put this prelate in mind of the awful situation in which his ignorance and imprudence has placed him.

As to hints of immorality and the Bishop's alleged unwillingness to make them known, he urged that either the Bishop's information was acquired in the confessional or out of it. If out of it, "there can be no obligation of secrecy." The author of "*Hoganism Examined*", justly and conclusively replied that there is such a thing as "a natural secret, which is to be inviolably kept, unless the most urgent and indispensable causes demand a disclosure." Hogan continued:

I have left nothing undone which Charity could suggest or ingenuity devise, to effect a reconciliation with the Rev. Gentleman. If a clergyman of our Church makes an appeal from an ecclesiastical to a civil court, he becomes by the very fact irregular; which irregularity can be removed only by the sovereign power of the Church. I have lodged my appeal to the Archbishop, but my appeal has not only not been listened to but has been rejected with marked contempt, as must be inferred from the Archbishop's not even noticing my letters. I have appealed a second time but to no purpose.

In the following panegyric of Bishop England, Hogan was possibly aiming to influence that Prelate's judgment in

case he were made arbitrator, as Hogan afterwards proposed.

It is time to crush that selfish spirit which would proscribe talents and subject him who possesses them not only to suspension but even to episcopal contempt; and never was there a more auspicious moment than the present: a star has risen in the South, the lustre of whose brilliancy will disperse those clouds of unmanly envy, low jealousies and provincial prejudices that have for a long time lowered over our religion in this country, and impeded its progress. The Right Rev. Dr. England, lately of Cork, and now Bishop of Charleston, the disinterested Cleric and the accomplished Gentleman, will not be an unobservant spectator of these proceedings. No, his soul is too noble, and his heart too pure: indeed may the people of Charleston say, in the inspired language of the Psalmist, It is the day star from on high that has come to visit us; it is the morning spread upon the mountains. With such a Prelate in this Country, it is fondly to be hoped our religion will flourish; with such a parent to advise them its children will not disobey; with such an orb to light them its Prelates cannot stray. Would to God some kindred spirit would whisper to him the necessity of settling these differences that disgrace our religion in this northern hemisphere; which would prevent its yet feeble stream, which has scarcely begun to flow, from rising to its destined height; but we are denied this blessing.

The interested character of this eulogy seems certain when we consider the reception given by Hogan to Bishop England's efforts at settling "these differences" at a later date. The Bishop then encountered what blessedness many peacemakers enjoy in this world; he was attacked by both sides. Hogan abused him, and Bishop Conwell resented his "interference", though he himself had sanctioned it.

Hogan's pamphlet concludes as follows:

P. S. I should not wonder that Dr. Conwell, upon my re-

suming the exercise of my faculties, may still persevere in the glaring abuse of authority and contempt of the canons, by attempting to hurl an excommunication against me, and those who come to my Church; but I hope I have proved, to the satisfaction of an enlightened public, from unquestionable authority that any excommunication of his is so far from being valid, that he more firmly fastens the chains of excommunication which the Church has flung around him for the abuse of her authority and contempt of her sacred laws; I therefore pray of his Lordship, that he will bestow a few moments of serious reflections on the terrific awfulness of his present situation, and not to attempt to approach the sanctuary of the Most High Jehovah, until relieved from the woful censure under which he labors.

The value of Hogan's citations from the canons, whereon depends whatever force his argument may wield, caused noteworthy debate, which will be reviewed later.

Disaffection's progress and the Bishop's anxiety on that account are shown in another letter of his to Archbishop Maréchal, dated February 5. Herein we learn that Hogan had taken a Methodist church at a rental of \$850, and purposed "to preach there next Sunday. It is to be called the Independent Catholic Church. Hogan has issued another pamphlet, which he sold at 25 cents a copy. So rapid was the sale that I cannot find one this day to send you." The Bishop gives its tenor, and adds:

He seems to have made an impression on the public. Give me your advice without delay. Am I safe to publicly forbid the Catholic people to frequent his church under pain of censure? I mean Excommunication to be incurred *ipso facto*; or can they be excommunicated directly if considered prudent to do so? Does the law of the land interfere? If Rev. Fenwick were here his services would be highly useful. Cumiskey is my most efficient assistant, but it requires a more important character, though he does the best he can. Fen-

wick cannot be wanted in Charleston, now Bishop England has come, and so can be spared for Philadelphia: this would serve religion. If a Council of Bishops could be effected it might be of service. (Case II, letter V, Maréchal Administration, Baltimore Archives. Endorsed: "Rt. Rev. Dr. Conwell, Phila., Feb. 5, 1821, asks advice relating to the 'impious Mr. Hogan'.")

The desired advice was probably given "without delay", for within a week Bishop Conwell had made up his mind on the queries proposed, and on February 11 he took another important step by addressing a public warning to Hogan, threatening excommunication: as likewise a Pastoral Charge to the people, on the same subject.

CHAPTER IV

WASHINGTON HALL, THIRD STREET ABOVE SPRUCE

(Destroyed by fire, March 17, 1823, at 3 A. M.)

MONITION TO HOGAN. "PASTORAL CHARGE". THE CONGREGATION SUSTAINS HOGAN IN TWO MEETINGS. CONGREGATION APPEALS TO ARCHBISHOP MARÉCHAL. CORRESPONDENCE OF JOSEPH SNYDER, CONCERNING HOGAN'S PERSONAL ANNOYANCE BY THE BISHOP.

On February 11, Bishop Conwell in person read the following *Monition* in St. Mary's. It was also "publicly read in all the churches":

Henry, by the grace of God, and the approbation of the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of Philadelphia.

To our brethren and children in Christ, committed to our pastoral care and superintendence, wishing them health and every blessing.

Whereas it is currently reported, and the publication of it in a late pamphlet gives credit to the report, that the Rev. William Hogan, who is deprived of all faculties to perform Priestly functions within our diocese, by our express and most positive charge of prohibition, delivered to him officially in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Kenny, the Rev. Mr. Hurley, and the Rev. Mr. Rolof, pastors in this our said diocese of Philadelphia, on Tuesday, the 12th of December last; intends, notwithstanding the canonical disabilities he lies under, to perform the functions of the said ministry of the priesthood, in open disregard of church authority, which we are very loath to believe; but, having just grounds to apprehend that such might eventually happen to be the case, and to prevent any of our dear flock from participating in his guilt, if he should be so far lost to every sense of duty and clerical feeling, as to commit this heinous transgression, and thus render himself irregular, ipso facto: we shall then, as it is our bounden duty to do, not hesitate for a moment to perform the most painful task that can possibly come within the Bishop's province to fulfil, that is, to separate the said William Hogan from the Catholic Church, and from all the benefits and privileges which the members of the Church are partakers of, by passing on him the sentence of excommunication, by the forms and ceremonies prescribed in the Roman Pontifical, which shall take place immediately after the said William Hogan shall attempt to perform any sacerdotal office or function of the ministry. Wherefore notice is hereby given to him and to all parties concerned, that they may be duly warned against the impending danger, and that we may have nothing to reproach ourselves with, but that it may be considered his own work, as having given the cause, beseeching him at the same time, to pray to the giver of all good gifts, to inspire him with the fear of God, and with sentiments of compassion for his poor soul, to prevent this heavy judgment, and to avoid the company of such men as are encouraging him to this rash act, who are his greatest enemies, under the mask of appearing to be his friends.

And these his friends and advisers are also warned to medi-

tate on what they are doing, and pray to God to turn their hearts; for they can give him nothing which will be compensation for the loss he must necessarily sustain, by following their counsels, and losing his God.

And let them also reflect, that all those who communicate with him in divinis, that is, in spirituals, by listening to his preaching, or by receiving the sacraments from him, shall be separated from the Church, in like manner, by the sentence of excommunication, of which all the parties concerned are to take heed. And may the blessing of God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, remain always with them.

Given under our hand, this 11th day of February, 1821.

HENRY,
Bishop of Philadelphia.

After the reading of this *Monition*, the Bishop delivered the so-called "Pastoral Charge". The statements, or rather the insinuations which the congregation discerned in this Charge, were the occasion of great resentment, and often are they recalled in the course of the controversy. The same "Pastoral", evidently garbled though its perpetuated colloquial form, has availed beyond any document of those times to fix the traditional character of Bishop Conwell, even down to our own day. Passages in the writings of Father Jordan and of Bishop England seem to imply that this "Pastoral" was but an account of Bishop Conwell's remarks as published by the Hoganites. In fact, every discriminating reviewer will perceive at once, in the much perverted document as now extant, the secondary impress of some smart but illiterate reporter. Between the lines of the paternal instruction, it is quite easy to read what a Catholic Bishop would fitly say in shaping his language to promiscuous popular understanding. His impromptu vernacular would very naturally depart from the periodic style of a written address, prepared under official regulations. But he would not burlesque episcopal habits, nor indulge

in such grammatical solecisms as his "reporter" sets down with total unconsciousness of their contradiction of Bishop Conwell's academic ways of life. Since it is our humble aim to present the Bishop in so nearly a consistent light as the records allow, we decline to reprint yonder manifest burlesque of him. At a stretch, it might answer to tell us what sort of refraction a smart reporter of illiterate antecedents undergoes when he proceeds to rehearse an episcopal remonstrance.

Let us consider simply the several articles of the Bishop's charges against Hogan. First, his disobedience to Father De Barth, his pastoral Superior; next, his omission to read his daily office, or Canonical Hours (an article of stringent obligation with active priests then, as now); and thirdly, those chiefly "insinuated" charges of common immorality, converging especially on libertinism. In sum of it all, the Bishop wonders why, in view of this glaring situation, the parishioners continue to importune him in behalf of restoring "this person"?

Nor yet did it add to the dignity and composure of those concerned, when on February 18, the "excommunication" from Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* was published in the "Independent Balance" as a "correct copy of the excommunication of William, pastor of St. Mary's."

The fourteen days proclaimed by Hogan elapsed, but he did not attempt to "resume his functions", at St. Mary's or elsewhere. Whether the *Monition* deterred him, or was he merely postponing such act of defiance until he should have a majority of the Board of Trustees on his side, does not appear; but to have a Board favorable to his cause was of supreme importance, and to this object he and his allies now directed all their efforts.

On February 14 "a very large and respectable meeting" of the members of the congregation of St. Mary's was held in Washington Hall, Third Street above Spruce. Charles

W. Bazely presided, and Archibald Randall was Secretary. The cause was to take into consideration Bishop Conwell's conduct in the Church on Sunday, February 11. Or, as Bazely said, to note "what illiberality and want of charity were displayed on that occasion, and how the church, last Sunday, presented a scene of confusion, owing to the harsh expressions voiced by the Bishop, which were designed to intimidate the friends of justice, yet could not but be received with contempt and indignation." Moreover, he said that they met to disapprove the Bishop's insinuation "against the ladies".

In a meeting which was said to have been attended by at least a thousand persons, John T. Sullivan "entered into an examination of all the charges and calumnies industriously and secretly circulated against the much injured gentleman Mr. Hogan," and "in a speech replete with strong and cogent reasoning mixed with satire and pathos worthy of Demosthenes he refuted every charge and hurled confusion and excited indignation against the accusers." He detained his audience nearly three hours; and the following resolutions were adopted:

We hear with regret the public threats of the Bishop against us and our families if we continue to use exertions in obtaining the reinstatement of a persecuted gentleman.

As fathers of families, we view with the greatest disapprobation the illiberal and indecent imputations of the Bishop upon the character of our wives and daughters, which the nature of the case did not require or justify.

We will not refrain from endeavoring to procure the reinstatement of Hogan until he be fairly tried and found guilty upon undoubted authority, because in so doing we are acting in accord with the laws of the Roman Catholic Church and our country.

We are confident that the insinuations against Hogan are utterly void of foundation and the accusations have arisen

from malice. We pledge ourselves to his support in restoration of his just right at the expense of our lives and properties.

The Committee appointed to tender these resolutions to the Bishop consisted of John Leamy, John Ashley, Joseph Dugan, M. Doran and Timothy Desmond.

Mr. Bazeley, the President of the meeting, was principal of a young ladies' academy at the northeast corner of Fourth Street and Willing's Alley. He was the author of several educational works. He died in Brooklyn, May 2, 1836.

On February 22, Bishop Conwell sent the following reply to John Leamy, chairman of the Committee:

Philadelphia, Feb. 22nd 1821.

Sir,

So unfair and so unfavourable construction has been put upon our last conference by yourself, that I could never have expected any further communication from you on that subject, which in addition to all my other motives and objections, renders any conference respecting the gentleman mentioned in your note altogether inexpedient and useless, if not out of my power.

I have often expressed myself unequivocally, that that gentleman should never have faculties, or powers to officiate as a Catholic Priest, within my diocese, which I now once more assure you of, as my conscience forbids me to grant the like under any conditions whatsoever. You may depend on the steadiness of my resolution, and I therefore request you will never write to me again on the subject.

Wishing God may bless you and direct you, I remain your humble servant in Christ,

HENRY,
Bishop of Philadelphia.

John Leamy, Esq.

On February 28, the congregation again met in Washington Hall and adopted resolutions sustaining Hogan. C.

W. Bazeley, who said that he had been called by the grace of God to be a Catholic, declared that Hogan was a gentleman, a scholar, and a man of piety, who sought only the spiritual welfare of his flock. "I have found none whose lives were more pure, none whose conversation and advice were more chaste. . . . The Bishop has been misled by evil reports. . . . He is old and feeble in mind."

The meeting resolved that the Bishop in removing Hogan had acted contrary to doctrine and discipline and could not have been influenced by religious motives; that refusing Hogan a trial is attributed to the Bishop's inability to substantiate his foul charges; whilst the plan was denounced whereby infamous characters were to swear against Hogan.

These records indicate that both sides had given up hope of gaining their cause through pacific methods; mutual recrimination now forms a large element in the discussion, and the charges of immorality against Hogan take precedence of the article of insubordination.

That Bishop Connolly of New York approved Bishop Conwell's position and condemned the congregation's, is plain from his letter of March 1 to Bishop Conwell. He wrote that he had heard that morning "that some females of your congregation offered a petition to a meeting at some hall to be adopted by it and to be presented to your lordship for the restoration of Mr. Hogan. . . . May the Almighty enlighten those poor deluded creatures. . . . Notwithstanding the efforts making at Philadelphia to destroy religion I am sure that by your firmness, and the grace of God you will frustrate their diabolical designs and promote the religious cause."

About this time there appeared a new series of pamphlets and the first of them, by the Rev. Michael Hurley of St. Augustine's, was signed: "An Independent Catholic". It was a satirical defence of Hogan and his measures, and bore the title: "A Last Appeal to the Congregation of St.

Mary's." It declared Hogan to be "a star of the first magnitude, a diamond of the purest water, a Ray surpassing the Luminary of noonday, in whom are concentrated all the Christian and cardinal virtues." It professed to favor the "Independent Catholic Church, with which we are about to astound the world, against whose founder only such trifles as that he is in the habit of making attempts at adultery have been alleged." The meeting of February 28 declared its "abhorrence and detestation of the pamphlet as the production of an enemy of the Catholic religion and of Hogan." Next, "A Sincere Catholic and No Traitor", in a pamphlet entitled the "True Sentiments of the Writer of the Last Appeal", professed to take the "Last Appeal" as sincere; and asks, "after an attentive perusal", "Are we to place in the sanctuary of the living God one who is more fit for the temple of Venus? Take him then as the founder of a new religion, the Independent Catholic Church. He will outdo Henry VIII." Probably Father Hurley was also the author of this latter pamphlet.

The congregation, or their committee, at least, took up the appeal which Hogan had made to Archbishop Maréchal, and freely promised submission on Hogan's part. We quote from the appertaining letter, dated March 13, 1821.

His (Mr. Hogan's) character, being repeatedly and variously stabbed with slander, the ordinary resource and right of men being refused: the right of trial; in a gust of feeling which we lament but cannot condemn, he instituted a tribunal of self-defence: he published a small pamphlet in which his own justification seemed inseparable from an exposure of the moral agents concerned in blemishing and vilifying his character. For this and the offence to the Bishop, if offences they are, he craves pardon and forgiveness, ready to make any submission as repeatedly offered through us, which may be prescribed and in a manner the most public, in the pulpit if required.

To this the Archbishop replied :

Baltimore, March 15th, 1821.

Gentlemen,

I am very sorry to be under the painful necessity of informing you, that my jurisdiction as Metropolitan does not extend to the case, which is now the source of the enormous scandals now existing in your city. But if, for want of competent authority, I cannot as the head of this ecclesiastical province, pronounce upon it, I may, however, as a Catholic prelate, and your sincere friend, tell you that, independently of the charges brought against Mr. Hogan, his infamous pamphlets exhibit enormous and manifest proofs, that he is a most abandoned character, and that, by defending his cause, you cannot but infallibly involve yourselves, your families, and, perhaps, many hundreds of your fellow Christians, in guilt, and boundless spiritual misery.

Surely it would be infinitely more grateful to me, to give you an answer more consonant to the sentiments expressed in your memoir; but my duty to Almighty God, my attachment to the Catholic Church, and my ardent wish for your temporal and eternal happiness, do not permit me, in so momentous a case, to speak to you in any other language but this of plain truth and episcopal sincerity.

I am Gentlemen, respectfully,

Your obt. humble servant

(Signed) AMBROSE,
Archbishop of Baltimore.

To John Leamy, Esq.
John Ashley, Esq.
Joseph Dugan, Esq.
M. Doran, Esq.
Tim'y Desmond, Esq.

Thus placed on the defensive, the Committee sought to vindicate their proceedings in the sight of the public by the following announcement :

On the 13th Inst. the committee addressed a most respectful memorial to the Archbishop of Baltimore, requesting his mediation for the re-establishment of peace and harmony in the Church, as well as for the restoration of Rev. William Hogan; whereto the subjoined answer (cited above) was returned. We were not a little surprised to find a copy of the said answer, had been immediately dispatched to Dr. Conwell, who we are informed, has given free circulation to it. We think justice would have required that it should have been accompanied with the committee's memorial, as the congregation would then have seen, how little they merited so unhandsome a reply. It was not our intention at present, to have given publicity to these papers, believing it to be indecorous, but as these Rev. Divines have not been guided by the same honorable feelings, we deem it right that the congregation should be made fully acquainted with our reply thereto, which will evince our sentiments on this unprecedented procedure.

Signed by the Committee.

Their answer to the Archbishop stood as follows:

Most Rev. Sir:

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 15th Inst., in answer to our exposé and appeal of the 13th in behalf of the congregation of St. Mary's, of this city. You were pleased to inform us, that your jurisdiction as Metropolitan does not extend to the case which is now the source of the enormous scandals existing in this city, and that your authority cannot be exercised beyond the Ecclesiastical Province in which you reside. We were under very different impressions, or we never should have obtruded the complaints of this congregation. We believed that the Metropolitan at Baltimore was the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and that all the Bishops of this country were your suffragans and, thus constituted, our Church in the United States formed a complete hierarchy, composed of superior and inferior Prelates, and their clergy. But it would appear from your letter to us, that this is not the case, and

therefore we must understand, that each Prelate in his own diocese is sovereign and independent of all authority short of His Holiness, and may act as uncharitably, as unconsiderately, even tyrannically, as his inclinations may impel him. We deeply regret that it is so, as we seriously apprehend such consequences may be produced by the present strife, as will give much cause of regret to our Holy Father; but we shall always carry with us, even to our graves the pleasing consolation, that we have done our duty as children of the Church; and the painful reflection, that if we have not succeeded in our endeavors, it was because our laudable exertions only encountered opposition where they ought to have met support. Thus much for our conduct in this business: we have neither self-interest, nor other consideration in view, but the good of our holy religion; we ask nothing for ourselves, we are only beseeching and supplicating you on behalf of a very large congregation. In performing this duty enjoined upon us by their unanimous voice, we take the liberty of assuring you that we entertain no apprehensions of involving ourselves, our families, or any others of our fellow Christians in guilt or spiritual misery.

It evidently appears that you have been grossly deceived by the misrepresentations that have given rise to your admonition, and we are well persuaded, you have been so ever since your visit to this city last summer, and we trust that time will convince you and the world, of the truth of our assertions.

You will be pleased to recollect, and we pray it may not be forgotten, that the Rev. William Hogan appealed to you two days after his suspension and that the pamphlet now adduced, as the strong argument against him, was not published until several weeks afterwards. If during that period you had thought proper to act as mediator, there can be no doubt of the good effects it must have produced, and we cannot but attribute your indifference in this affair to the unfortunate impressions made upon you during your visit among us.

We openly and sincerely declare ourselves Roman Catholics, born and baptized in the Church; we have uniformly acknowledged His Holiness the Pope as the Vicegerent of Christ on

earth; we are not ignorant of the mild character of our Church and of our religion, nor are we ignorant of the unwise, uncharitable and persecuting dispositions of some of its unworthy ministers. The enormous scandals which you so highly deprecate, arise from that cause, and the disgrace of our holy religion in this city has become the unfortunate price of such unhallowed conduct; but this Pastor happened to be a secular priest, possessing talents seldom to be met with in our Church, and nothing short of a deep and foul conspiracy could remove him.

A copy of your letter in answer to our memorial we find has been sent to Dr. Conwell, who is industriously exhibiting it, to men, women and children. However gratifying this may be to the Bishop and to the rest of the Rev. Gentlemen composing his chapter, we nevertheless lament that we have afforded you an opportunity of again wounding the feelings of the Rev. William Hogan.

Whatever satisfaction this strange mode of procedure may afford you and them, you may be well assured this congregation at large must condemn it, as they will see that in any appeal to a Metropolitan, let the cause be what it will, they have no chance of redress.

We have the honor to remain with great respect and high consideration

Most Rev. Sir,

Your obt. humble servants

JOHN LEAMY, *Chairman.*

JOSEPH DUGAN,

JOHN ASHLEY,

TIMOTHY DESMOND,

MICHAEL DORAN.

To the Most Rev. Ambrose Archbishop of Baltimore.

Philadelphia, March 23d, 1821.

JOSEPH M. DORAN,

Sec'y.

During this time, and, indeed, throughout the troubles, the legal title of the real estate, the residence and Chapel

of St. Joseph's and St. Mary's Church was vested in the Rev. Francis Neale. He had constituted the Rev. Adam Marshall his attorney in fact, and Father Marshall had appointed Mr. Joseph Snyder his agent in Philadelphia. The following correspondence is introduced, not on account of Bishop Conwell's endeavor to acquire title, which will be considered later, but rather to show the methods by which some of the parties to the "troubles" sought to carry their point; namely, by malice: despite their professed reliance on justice alone.

We give Mr. Snyder's letter without revising his homely exceptions to formal grammar.

(March 28, 1821).

Our church business is becoming very alarming indeed. I think I mentioned in my last that in consequence of a door being made (by the order of one or two of the Trustees) through the wall to accommodate Mr. Hogan who for a number of Sundays both fore and afternoon takes with him from church a great mob of small & large children who collect in great crowds in the Bishop's yard and as soon as the clergy come to go to their house they abuse them in a most shameful manner, the Trustees have done all in their power to prevent but it is impossible as he (Mr. Hogan) told them they, the children, should come as long as he pleased, Mr. Johnson and myself witnessed these scenes on the Sunday before last and the Bishop begged us to have the door shut up, we accordingly notified the person who put it up, but he paid no attention to it, we then on Saturday had a fence put across the door, while the carpenter was at work Mr. Hogan came to him and asked who ordered him to do that he told him Mr. Johnson and Mr. Snyder, he said he would knock it down and that they that was putting it up was as great Rascals as the Bishop however as soon as the man was gone there came a number of men and knocked it down and in a few moments there was not a vestige left, in consequence of this unlawful outrage we have instituted several suits against the offenders, having sufficient

proof who they were; this we were obliged to do or give the property to a mob. I hope we shall bring them to a sense of their duty on this point. I should be glad you would write me immediately on receipt of this, whether you approve of what we have done. I am fearful we shall have a great deal of trouble in St. Mary's Church at the election for Trustees the friends of Mr. Hogan flatter themselves they will get such Trustees as will put Mr. Hogan in to the church by force. I tell them then they will cease to be Roman Catholics. I have understood, a Rev. Mr. Hanna who lately came from Ireland and stayd with Mr. Hogan for some time is now in New York and reports that after the election we are to have an Independent Church and then I expect he will return altho they say he is going to Canady. Great Priests indeed, which we would be much better without. I now send you Mr. Hogan's 2 & 3 pamphlets the first I have not been able to procure. I observe you have the Bishop's I also send you Mr. Taylor's of New York and one called, the true sentiments, I am at a loss to know which of them you have, will you let me know in your next that I may send you those you have not.

I am respectfully yours

JOSEPH SNYDER.

This was endorsed: "Copy of a letter to Rev. Adam Marshall, March 28, 1821, informing him of suit &c." The original is at St. Joseph's.

On April 3 Father Marshall answered:

I am very sorry to hear that the venerable Bishop of Philadelphia and his clergy are exposed to outrage and insult on our property. I do approve the legal measures you have taken to protect him & the property and shall approve any other measures authorized by law which you may deem necessary for this purpose. From circumstances I would be inclined to believe that the trespass you mention was committed at the instigation of somebody, if the instigator can be taken hold of, it would be as well to begin with him, he being taught his

duty, the rest will learn their lesson likewise. I received the pamphlets you sent me. We have not got here a single one besides those you have sent, those we have seen were lent by different individuals who either brought them from Phila. or had them sent to them by friends, I wish to have the one that contains the Bishop's documents, as to the rest of it no matter. Be pleased to send me a copy of any that may appear hereafter. Be pleased to give my best respects to the Bishop with my sincere wishes that his unjust persecutions will soon cease.

With sincere esteem your Hble. svt.

A. MARSHALL.

It appears below who were principally concerned in the affair of the door and the suit which followed. The original papers are at Old St. Joseph's. "J. K.," or John Keating, Jr., was the Bishop's attorney, representing, of course, in this suit, the agents of the Rev. Father Neale.

Note to Mr. Jos. Strahan, 284 Lombard St.," dated from No. 17 So. 5th, March 20th.

Dear Sir:

At the request of the agents of Rev'd F. Neale the proprietor of the house and lot occupied by the Bishop of this Diocese, I wrote last week to Mr. Connell desiring him to have the communication between that and the adjoining lots stopped up without further delay.

As he has not taken any notice of my note I shall be under the necessity of taking some other steps. Having been informed that the wall was pulled down and the gate built up by you & that in the event of my issuing process, I should be under the necessity of including your name I am unwilling to draw you into the matter without previous notice. I therefore request you to attend to this subject & will take no further step in the business until Friday morning when unless I hear from you before I shall feel myself at liberty to proceed.

Truly Yours

J. K. Jr.

To this we append the reply by Strahan, who is frequently named in the course of the troubles as a supporter of Hogan.

Philadelphia, March 22, 1821.

Sir,

Your note of the 20th Inst. received and I must confess I am at a loss to know in what manner you must include my name in the suit.

In the first place I was employed to make repairs in & about the property adjoining that of which you have reference to. My authority for this was the resolution passed by the Congregation at a meeting held in the School house, further the Rev. Mr. De Barth, Joseph Snyder and others were consulting upon the best plan of alteration necessary & no fault has ever been found until the present Disagreeable Situation of the Congregation.

When will this persecution end?

I have thought it my duty to answer your note from the respect I have always entertained for you, that you may not plead Ignorant of the past transactions I thought it proper to give you this hint, as well as to save the unpleasant feelings that may arise therefrom to certain individuals.

I am with due respect

Yours &c.

JOS. STRAHAN.

J. Keating Esq.

Yet all these things are still as preludes in shiftiness of argument and acts of strife and schism; we shall reserve patience for the developing sequels as our space admits them.

[*To be continued.*]

HOW BIGOTRY WAS KEPT ALIVE BY OLDTIME TEXT-BOOKS

BY THE RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR McDEVITT

AMONG the interesting aspects of the history of the United States has been the strange and striking contrast between the theory and the actual application of the principles of liberty and toleration. The ignoring of both the spirit and the letter of those pronouncements which demand civil and religious freedom for all citizens alike was in evidence at the very beginning of the nation. A noted illustration is seen in the Declaration of Independence. Though this historic document proclaimed "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," yet at the very time when this supposedly epoch-making document was formulated, and for three quarters of a century after, traffic in human flesh was a strongly entrenched and legalized practice. Moreover the Constitution which the Thirteen Colonies adopted, declared (art. VI) that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust". One of the amendments which was subsequently made to the Constitution said: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

These statements are clear and specific. Nevertheless it is by no means certain that they expressed the real sentiments of the newly born nation. Indeed there is reason to think that both the article in the original Constitution

and the amendment were the outcome of political expediency rather than of high principle. For when the individual states formed their state constitutions, not a few incorporated into the fundamental law of the commonwealth restrictive legislation against citizens of certain religious beliefs. Though these particular states, one after another, repealed the intolerant legislation in their constitutions, the true spirit of religious toleration grew slowly. "Thus it was only since 1806 that Catholics to hold office in the State of New York have been dispensed with a solemn abjuration of all obedience to a foreign ecclesiastical power. Down to January 1, 1836, to be an elector and eligible in the State of North Carolina it was necessary to swear to a belief in the truth of the Protestant religion. In New Jersey, a clause excluding Catholics from all offices was abolished only in 1844."¹

The temper of public opinion in regard to this subject of toleration, during the nineteenth century gave evidence of its true character in such scandalous incidents as the burning of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Mass., in 1834; the riots of Philadelphia in 1844, and especially in the organization of anti-Catholic political parties, Native Americanism in 1844, and Know-Nothingism in 1854.

Many explanations might be offered for the existence of this anti-Catholic spirit in a republic where the Catholic Church enjoys a freedom that brings out in bolder relief the petty persecution and the oppressive and tyrannical legislation from which she suffers in many European nations. Some of the causes of this intolerance go back to the early days of the Reformation, and especially to those times when Spain and England were bitterly and fiercely antagonistic. In that momentous struggle England appealed to Englishmen to save themselves from a foreign

¹ *The Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 39; by Henry de Courcy.

domination which would rob them of their political and religious freedom. In the developing and strengthening of this patriotic spirit, appeals to religious prejudice had an important part. Hence hatred of Spain and of Popery, one with Spain in the eyes of Englishmen, entered into the national life of England and remained long after the political conditions which provoked the original conflict, had passed away.

Later on the racial and religious antipathies of the Old World were carried across the Atlantic and were intensified when Englishmen found themselves face to face with the colonists of Spain and France, both Catholic countries.

A strong anti-Catholic spirit prevailed throughout the Colonies before the war of 1776. It was aggressively and bitterly active when Great Britain in 1774, in the famous Quebec Act, gave to the Catholic Church in Canada the right which she possessed under French rule, of tithes for the clergy. The Continental Congress in October of 1774 formulated an address to the people of Great Britain in which it was said in regard to the Quebec Act: "Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country [Canada] a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world."

This manifestation of indignation against a just and wise political act of the British Parliament, and the well-known hostility to the Catholic Church, contributed in a large degree to the failure of the delegation in 1776, which came from the Colonies in order to enlist the aid of Canada in the war against the mother country.

One might expect that the hostility to the Catholic Church would have disappeared after the Thirteen States had secured their independence, especially as a Catholic nation had given invaluable assistance in the war with England.

But such was not the case. The Colonies, though politically independent, possessed much in common with the mother country. They were practically the same as the people of England in race, language, and religion. Both nations had inherited the traditions which, with racial antipathies, had preserved and intensified a bitter hatred of "Popery" and "its abominations".

Among the minor causes that helped to perpetuate the prejudices of centuries were the text-books used in the schools of America. The evil wrought by the school books in which the Catholic Church and Catholic countries were held up to scorn, was all the more insidious and far-reaching because these books were placed in the hands of young children, at a time when their minds were most susceptible to deep and lasting impressions. The full extent and character of the evil can never be known, though an examination of certain kinds of these text-books will help us to understand the suspicion, the fear, the hatred, and contempt which have been meted out to Catholics in a country where in many respects they enjoy the greatest freedom.

Elementary text-books of Geography and History seem to have been the commonest medium for the propagation of anti-Catholic hostility. This will appear from the extracts which are found in this paper from different geographies,—written for schools and published in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. These publications, almost without exception, speak of Catholics and Catholic countries as hopelessly ignorant, superstitious, bigoted, and benighted. In contrast to the lamentable story of Catholic countries is found the glowing account of the admirable and commanding qualities of Protestants and Protestant nations.

The first in order of publication of these text-books is "Geography made Easy, By Jedidiah Morse, D. D., Min-

ister of the Congregational Church in Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1802." In speaking of Spain the author says:

The Roman Catholic Religion, to the exclusion of all others, is the religion of the Spanish Monarchy: and it is in these countries of the most bigoted, superstitious, and tyrannical character. (P. 356.)

In 1809, T. and G. Palmer, of Philadelphia, published for F. Nichols "A Compend of Geography containing a concise description of the Different Countries of the Earth." The following information is imparted concerning Portugal, Spain, and Italy:

Portugal.—The state of learning is very low. Education is neglected and few of the populace can read or write. The Portuguese are abstemious, indolent, ignorant, superstitious, deceitful, irascible, revengeful, and uncleanly in their persons. The peasantry have the bare necessities of life, but enjoy few or none of the conveniences. They are distinguished by rags, dirt, and filth. (P. 88.)

Spain.—The peasantry have the bare necessities of life, but few or none of the conveniences. They live in wretched habitations and are distinguished by rags, dirt, filth, idleness and dishonesty. The popular dances are voluptuous and indecent. (P. 90.)

Italy.—The Italians are ingenious, temperate, hospitable, indolent, irritable, and possess much sensibility. They are voluptuous, amorous, and licentious. The populace are ignorant, credulous, and superstitious.

"The leading features of the Neapolitan character are superstition, idleness and dishonesty."—Kotzebue's Travels Through Italy, Vol. II. (Pp. 96, 97.)

After this scathing description of the unfortunate inhabitants of Portugal, Spain and Italy, the Compend summarizes the author's views on Great Britain, where, quoting "Godwin", he says:

Learning is in a flourishing state. Britain has long been considered one of the most learned nations of Europe. There is a sobriety in the English people, particularly in accord with the possession of freedom. They are somewhat slow and somewhat silent, but beneath this outside they have much reflection, much firmness, a consciousness of power and worth, a spirit of frank dealing and plain speaking, and a moderate and decent sturdiness of temper, not easily to be deluded or subdued.—Godwin. (P. 110.)

The reference to Ireland betrays the inheritance of the English practice of discrediting a country whose ills are the natural outcome of centuries of alien tyranny and injustice.

Ireland.—The Irish are lively, irritable, impetuous, hospitable, generous and brave. The populace are ignorant, intemperate and vicious; easily excited to acts of violence and with difficulty restrained by law. (P. 112.)

Worthington, Ohio, was responsible, in 1813, for "A Compendious System of Universal Geography," by John Kilbourn. Poor Mexico is dismissed with the simple statement that "The Roman Catholic is the established religion and the people are ignorant and superstitious." (P. 254.)

"A new system of Modern Geography or a general description of the most remarkable countries throughout the Known World," by Benjamin Davis, came to light in 1815. Mr. Davis speaking of the religion of England says:

By degrees the papal authority, and the corruption of the church of Rome, spread themselves here [England] as well as in the other nations of Europe. Jno. Wickliffe (an Englishman), in the reign of Edward III, has the honor of being the first person in Europe who had firmness enough publicly to expose the corruptions of the Romish Church. After passing through a flood of persecutions, the nation at length shook off entirely the shackles of papal domination and established a religious system, and an ecclesiastical government for itself. (P. 29.)

The author crosses over to Ireland where he finds:

The ecclesiastical Church is the same as in England. The Catholics retain their nominal bishops and dignitaries, who subsist by the voluntary contributions of their votaries; but notwithstanding the blind superstition, and ignorance of the latter, Protestantism increases every year. The institution of the Protestant working schools has contributed much to this salutary purpose. Ireland *being now happily united with England*, the form of government of course is identically the same except in some variations between the statute and common laws of the two islands. (Pp. 52-3.)

Netherlands.—The religion of the Netherlands is the Roman Catholic; and till the French Revolution the inhabitants were noted for their bigotry. . . . The education was neglected as in most Catholic countries. (P. 65.)

Austrian Dominions. — The Empress Theresa instituted schools for the education of children, but none for the education of teachers. Hence children are taught metaphysics before they know Latin; and a blind veneration for the monks forms one of the first exertions of nascent reason.

The universities, like those in other Catholic countries, little promote the progress of solid knowledge. (P. 76.)

Spain.—The religion of Spain is the Roman Catholic, which in this country and Portugal has been carried to a pitch of fanaticism unknown to the Italian States or even to the papal territory; though the evil has been recently subdued in a considerable degree. (P. 88.)

In speaking of the religion of Spain, one of the most striking of the national customs and manners is the common practice of adultery under the mask of religion. Exclusive of this vice, the Spanish character is highly respectable for integrity and a long train of virtues. (P. 89.)

The universities, or rather academies, in Spain are computed at upwards of twenty. . . . The students here (University of Salamanca) have, at former periods, been computed at 16,000; but even now the reign of Aristotle in logic and natural phil-

osophy, and of Thomas Aquinas in theology, continues unviolated, so that a student in the year 1800 may aspire to as much ignorance as one of the year 1300. In 1785 the number of students was computed at 1909. (P. 89.)

The same antiquated teachers are received with implicit faith in the other universities, and a more liberal education at school will be sought for here in vain. (P. 89.)

The Material Creation Being a compendious system of "Universal Geography and Popular Astronomy," by Herman Mann, Dedham, gives a detailed account of the wretched conditions of the countries that might be grouped under the head "Latin America".

Guatemala.—Had the Spaniards introduced schools of liberal sciences to the natives; and shook from themselves their load of superstition and bigotry they would have made some atonement for their cruelties in the subjugation of this country. (P. 179.)

They have indeed now (1817) a few institutions of this nature in Mexico. There are also several colleges and universities. But the instructors, being generally fanatical priests, render them of little utility. The number of Mexican clergy is about 12,000, with enormous salaries and other immunities. Thus is seen a clear test between the Popish and Protestant religious in every country where they are embraced. (P. 179.)

Venezuela.—There is a university at Caracas, founded in 1722. It consists of about 470 students in the branches of rhetoric, philosophy, theology, canon and civil law, physic, and a school of singing by note. But the professorships being filled by Catholic priests, are of themselves indicative of an illiberal and defective system of education. (P. 201.)

General View and Interesting Particulars of South America.—The Religion is Popery, throughout all the Spanish and Portuguese settlements, like that of the countries whose colonies they are. This also is a supernumerary tramel to minds which otherwise might move philosophically as well as evangelically, pay their homage and devotion to the great Supreme. If the priests themselves are not fanatics and superstitious, they know well how to make their devoted subjects so and to

punish delinquents, and this alone is closing the door against everything great and good in human nature. (P. 217.)

A remarkable instance of patriotism has lately occurred in Manillo, long a high-standing Catholic priest. He abandoned his religion, at least its superstitions and intolerant parts, joined the revolutionary standard, became a distinguished general, and fought hard for the independence of his patriotic followers. But an evil fate awaited him. He was captured by the royal army. And the ignominious death he consequently suffered by their hands, sanctioned by infuriated priests, is sufficient cause of itself for a revolution, and to stamp with infamy the government, civil and ecclesiastical, that is thus guilty of such enormous cruelty. (P. 217.)

Englishmen will have little to condemn in the following estimate of their natural character.

Englishmen are well-sized, regularly featured, with fair complexions. They are rather grave and phlegmatic in disposition, and possessed of a remarkable nervous sensibility; full of natural endowments, and a ready share of wit and vivacity. The women in their shape, features, and complexions appear so graceful, lovely and dignified that England may be termed the native country of female beauty, but besides their external graces, they are still more to be valued for their decorum, thorough cleanliness, fidelity and affection for their husbands and children, and in all the engaging duties of domestic life. (P. 257.)

Mr. Mann found little to commend in the morals of poor Italy.

Italy.—The women are very amorous; so that the marriage ties, even among the higher ranks, are little regarded. Hence lascivious manners and vindictiveness—the great flood-gates of all the evils of life and its miserable end. The best quality of modern Italians is sobriety. They submit quietly to government. They are rather obstinate than brave; more super-

stitious than devout. Both sexes are affable, courteous, ingenious and ready-willed. (P. 270.)

“Rudiments of Geography,” by William C. Woodbridge, Hartford. Samuel G. Goodrich, 1821. “The Rudiments” illustrate very strikingly the character of these text-books.

England.—The people are intelligent, brave and industrious. (P. 74.)

Scotland.—The people are hardy, enterprising and remarkable for general education and morality, produced by their numerous schools and their attention to public worship. (P. 76.)

Ireland.—The people are hardy and brave; but generally ignorant and superstitious and extremely poor.

Most of the people in Ireland are Catholics. (P. 77.)

Spain.—The people are haughty and bigoted, but brave and generous, and are now beginning to be more liberal and enlightened. (P. 89.)

Portugal.—Like Spain.

Italy.—Like Spain and Portugal.

British Provinces.—The French inhabitants, the most numerous in Lower Canada, are superstitious and ignorant. The British Americans, especially in Upper Canada, have better characters and more information. (P. 188.)

New England.—The people are generally distinguished for industry, enterprise and intelligence, as well as good education and good morals. (P. 195.)

“Elements of Geography Ancient and Modern, by I. E. Worcester, A. M., Boston, 1829.” The “Elements” follow faithfully the methods of the “Rudiments.”

New England.—The inhabitants are mostly of English descent, and are distinguished for their intelligence, enterprise, industry and love of gain. (P. 34.)

Poland.—The Poles are one of the most illiterate nations in Europe. They are mostly Catholics. (P. 106.)

Spain.—The Spaniards are bigoted Catholics. Education is in a backward state. (P. 135.)

Need we wonder, after a hurried review of such text-books, that the Catholic Church has been looked upon with fear and suspicion and hatred in a country where the boys and girls for generations, as soon as they are able to read, have been treated on the one hand to sweeping charges against Catholicism and all things Catholic, and on the other hand to the continuous glorification of all things Protestant.

Happily there is a change for the better, and the school books of to-day are, save in singular instances, free from the ignorant and malicious and vicious information of the old-time histories and geographies. Whether from principle or policy we need not examine, the representative publishers of school books are anxious to make the text fair and just to all classes, and are willing to give proper consideration to every protest against anti-Catholic or ultra-Protestant statements.

ITEMS TRANSATLANTIC

Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters. Vol. 38, 2. (June 6, 1913.)

Let not the colossal object described in this title: namely, to promote the ultimate publication of an *omnibus* collection of source works on German Medieval history, deter us from glancing at a current number of quite a tempting *feeder* towards the end in prospect. Which number contains:

Die deutschen Bestandteile der *Lex Baiuvariorum*.

Zu den *Gesta Treverorum*.

Zur Lebensgeschichte des Bruders Salimbene de Adam.

Zur Kritik minoritischer Geschichtsquellen.

Handschriften des Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum im Haag.

Miscellen (Carolingian & subsequent Mediaeval).

Probably the first article will appeal no less directly to students of Teutonic philology than to grubbers in law; not to speak of nondescript amateurs in mere literature, ignorant of its professional responsibilities. *Treves*, and the Minorite source data consort strictly with the technical purpose of the enterprise; the biographic chapter on Brother Salimbene de Adam, abounds, besides, in diversified human interest. One easily surmises as much from the nature of the subject, which is a Medieval scholastic journey from Parma to Auxerre by way of Lyons, Troyes, Provins, Sens

(A. D. 1247-1248, coincident with the preaching of Saint Louis's Crusade). Brother Salimbene is of sprightly wit, rather mundane than ascetic, and frank to "freshness" in his discourse with the great and wise. With the author of said chapter, we beg to share some sentiment of amused edification over the following monastic admonition to French tipplers. When suffering, next morning, from inflamed eyes, they would beseech the day's celebrant to sprinkle a few drops of his *Lavabo* ablution between their eyelids. "Alé! quotha, Ke malonta ve don Dé! Metti de l'aighe in le vins, non in lis ocli!" The Fatherland's idiom, "Geht! Dasz Gott Euch Schande gebe! Tut Wasser in den Wein, nicht in die Augen!" renders that quaint mixture of Medieval French and Italian much better than seems feasible in English: "Begone with you! God grant you to feel ashamed and put water in your wine, not in your eyes."

For the comfort of researchers depressed, it may chance, with fears lest historic sources be reaching the point of exhaustion, we would particularly note the article on "Manuscripts of the Meermann-Westreenian Museum, The Hague". For we are told that this collection has been but meagrely explored, as yet, by historic investigators; although it bears marks of peculiar electness. The contents are not loaned, and the Museum is open, as a rule, on only two days of each month; save by *Courtoisie* to the trusted visitor, such as our German informant in the case. Dr. Wilhelm Levison. The collection was accumulated by Baron William Henry James van Westreenan van Tiellandt (1783-1848), a kinsman of the bibliophilic family Meermann. At his death the Museum passed into State ownership, under proviso that the collection should be conserved separately, and without enlargement. It now occupies the first story of the former proprietor's mansion, near the

park *Het Bosch*. One room is devoted to the library; the other, to cabinet treasures. These include Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquities; specimens of Medieval and modern industrial art; Oriental coins and medals; together with family portraits. The library comprises about 10,000 volumes; 1,250 block prints and incunabula; upwards of 300 manuscripts, fairly half of them Medieval. There are fine miniatures among them. (Dr. Levison's article also gives a detailed outline of library titles by topical selection.)

Malthusian mourners disposed to slight yonder Hague Museum for a tantalizing drop in the bucket, may still solace themselves in Paris, we believe, were it simply by scanning the first quarterly issue for 1913 of *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, Revue d'Érudition consacrée spécialement à Étude du Moyen Age*. We cite the contents:

Nouvelles acquisitions du département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale pendant les années 1911-1912.

La Transmission des Ordres à la Chancellerie Mérovingienne d'après les souscriptions en notes tironiennes.

Itinéraire de Philippe VI de Valois (premier article).

Bibliographie (pp. 129-227; Nouveaux Livres, pp. 192-227).

Chronique et mélanges.

We learn that those newly-acquired manuscripts, for the years 1911 and 1912, totaled 1,152 volumes, apportioned as follows:

Oriental Collections (Samaritan, Ethiopian, Far Eastern Asiatic)	380
Greek	6
Latin	57
French	686
Modern tongues	23

Of the Paris Ethiopian collections it is observed that they are unrivaled in Europe. Among the French manuscript

accessions, numbers 21806-21873 form a special group, the Leopold Delisle collection, on the history of Normandy and on French history proper. The article gives an itemized statement of sizes, topics, dates, covering all the two years' additions.

The Itinerary of Philip VI of Valois (first article) presents annual entries, in calendar sequence, for decade 1328-1337. Concerning the positive importance of royal itineraries in history, the writer assumes that the same is nowadays past question; and, indeed, there were phases of the French monarchy when almost might the Church maxim, "Ubi Petrus ibi Ecclesia", have been paraphrased, *Ubi Rex, ibi Regnum*.

Yet another consolation occurs to us for Malthusian pessimists in fields of research; and this time, not quantitative, but qualitative, the color of our condolence. We refer to Mr. Maurice Jusselin's article, "La Transmission des Ordres à la Chancellerie Mérovingienne d'après les souscriptions en notes tironiennes." This paper is in sequel to one of 1907, "sur l'état des connaissances alors acquises sur la question des notes tironiennes dans les diplômes mérovingiennes." In other words, we are shown a sort of measure of progress in the most crabbed labor of deciphering Merovingian shorthand at *École des Chartes* since 1907, in a paper modestly restricted to six pages (67-73; cited "Review of Erudition devoted especially to study of the Middle Ages"). By way of general enlightenment Mr. Jusselin explains that palaeographers appeared satisfied with the course of interpretations thus far achieved at the *École des Chartes*; and that whilst the work there had been acceptably checked by critical scrutiny on the part of Mr. Mentz in Allemania, nevertheless no signal advancement had been made in the work by outside experts since last published results in 1907. "Il reste donc beaucoup à faire."

Mr. Jusselin squarely admits that their task sometimes seems to approach "the limit of the possible"; but they keep "still achieving, still pursuing", "avec l'approbation des diplomatistes qui apprécient les résultats de nos recherches, quelques minimas fussent-ils." Even those not expert will perceive the advantage of his prompt presentation of "toute lecture capable d'étendre et de préciser un peu nos connaissances." In climbing an unexplored mountain, every added inch may prove significant; or, in the case here forward, each gleam of new light on the obscure background surveyed, so much decreases the remaining blind area. To the uninitiated beholder, Mr. Jusselin's facsimile cuts of Merovingian ciphers, or shorthand annotations of the Frankish palace orders, seem as lucid as so much Chinese: Arabic, Syriac and Persian characters look rational and plausible in comparison. Of course, intuitive genius has its place in such tasks; but we are duly warned that happy spurts of the fancy alone, must be rigidly ballasted by critical *avoir-dupois*. The practical use of Merovingian shorthand notes on official documents was to safeguard the signer's or intermediary's responsibility by terse data respecting the source and authority of the transmitted mandates. For illustration of the patient minutiae involved in the like labors, we may adduce a single successful deciphering, representative, more or less, of the main pursuit; to wit, an order of Childebert III:

"710, 12 décembre. K. 3, No. 15 (Lauer, 31). Childebert III adjuge à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis la totalité des revenus de la foire de Saint-Denis, malgré les prétentions adverses de Grimoald, maire du palais et comte du *pagus Parisiacus*. [Chrismon.] Actulius jussus recognovit ac subscripsit. Per anolo Gri-mo-al-di majore domus." The term *per anolo* is explained, "under seal"; as where the documents were sealed with the transmitting officer's ring. Another large category of orders was given orally, when

the transmitting functionaries would nevertheless append their cautionary notes in shorthand fashion. (We failed to find *actulius* in Du Cange; but in so far as the context guides one, an empowered secretary is thereby denoted? *Chrismon.* would appear to stand for *In nomine Christi*; so, at least, repeatedly in the documents adduced.)

Is it any wonder, by the way, that many startled minds in these United States to-day, profess to dread the power and influence of the Catholic Church, if we pause to think that even grave scholars thus expend their energy in resolving the petty affairs of a Catholic Frankish Court and Exchequer, all of a dozen centuries behind us? Is Mr. Carnegie's undisguised attitude against the Church designed to counterirritate, perhaps, those enormous arrays of solidly Catholic learning in European libraries?

Whatever the conflicting views of men and nations in regard to Napoleon Bonaparte, all persons of literary propensities can welcome the excellent form and motto (*Sine ira et studio*) of the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, now proceeding with Volume IV of its second year. Contents for July, 1913:

Le Système de guerre de Napoléon. La manoeuvre sur position centrale (continued article), by General Camon.

Napoléon et les avocats. J. Lortel.

Mémoires et Documents. Lettres de Marie-Antoinette-Thérèse, princesse des Asturies, à Madame de Mandell.

Duc de Rovigo à Vincennes: réponse à ses accusateurs.

Lettres d'un sous-lieutenant lorrain en 1813.

Bulletin Historique. Histoire extérieure du second Empire.

Notes et Nouvelles. Uniformes du premier Empire (Collection Bucquoy). Une manufacture de sucre de betterave à Rambouillet sous le premier Empire. Notes de lectures.

Revue des Questions Historiques, April, 1913, follows rather byways than principal avenues of historic study; although the two lines usually show points of junction or logical connection. The number includes:

Les "Angevins" à Raguse (1384-1385).

Le Baron des Adrets (1512-1586; religious wars in Dauphiné).

Le Citoyen Genet (completion).

Mélanges: Liturgie rouennaise en Italie. (Through Normans in Italy & Sicily).

Du Luthéranisme au Protestantisme. Évolution de Luther de 1517 à 1528.

La Dictature des sections parisiennes au début de la Révolution.

Talleyrand et le Comte d'Hauterive.

De Bâle à Tolentino. Lettres inédites du chevalier d'Azara (1795-1797; completion).

Attracted by the title, we perused a critique in *Historische Zeitschrift*, Third Series, 14. 2, of *Doctor philosophiae* Theodor Mayer's "Der auswärtige Handel des Herzogtums Österreichs im Mittelalter." As though in sympathy with Austria's relative backwardness in economic research, *Historische Zeitschrift* held over its interesting review of Dr. Mayer's book, all the while from 1909, when at Innsbruck it appeared, until this our contemporary era. The German critic attests, however, that if Austria stayed rearward of Germany in extensiveness of economic research, the deficit bids fair to become offset by Austrian scholars' thoroughness and intensiveness. At all events,

Dr. Mayer, instead of deducing a volume from sporadic impressions and current hearsay, ransacked the customs registers at Passau and Pressburg. We thereby no longer nurse the familiar delusion that Medieval Austria traded predominantly in wax and honey (meritorious though these commodities have always and everywhere been among items of commerce): but the staple trade ran in wine, salt, and cloth. Austria's traffic with Germany was "passive" till the Thirteenth Century, but "active" with Hungary. Vienna played the part of distributor between Upper Germany and Hungary. Hungary enjoyed mineral assets, whereas Austria had to seek the German market for equalizing the trade balance: Germany likewise lacking silver. Again, Austria was a distributor between Hungarian demand and Venetian supply. Since the German reviewer notes the minor omission, in this work, of the factor of winter overland traffic by sledges, we take it that the *smuggler's* part, if existent, must have been a factor insignificant altogether; and so much the better for the consequent mercantile ethics of Medieval Austria. Hoch der Herzog!

Deutsche Rundschau, July, 1913, notices a fitting "monument" to Montaigne, in the form of a laborious new edition of his Essays:

Réproduction en phototypie de l'exemplaire avec notes manuscrites marginales appartenant à la ville de Bordeaux publiée avec une introduction par M. Fortunat Strowski, professeur à la Sorbonne. Trois vol. in 4°, comprenant plus de 1000 planches en phototypie. (Hachette, 1912.)

A composite and final edition, it would seem, of the variously issued Essays (1580, 1582, 1587, 1588, *plus Feuillans* copy of 1795, by Montaigne's adopted daughter Made-moiselle de Tournay).

The reviewer compares divergent critical estimates of Montaigne's religious position; Professor Strowski finds him a "sterling Catholic": certainly, he remained an inalienable subject of the Church. But the vein of bland skepticism in his nature more nearly warrants the "agnostic" Stapfer's analysis, that Montaigne was obedient to God and *Ecclesia* because uncertainty and submission are good, whereas pride of knowledge is dangerous; whilst in the total uncertainty of all human opinions and teachings, it were madness and rashness to deny the sole saving truth, and so turn that one "chance" against one's self. But however undefined Montaigne's positive premises herein, they afforded him a firm intellectual anchorage, and kept him in the situation of a circumspect, stanch, withal tolerant conservative.

MISCELLANEOUS

DEED FOR GROUND ON WHICH THE FIRST ST. JOSEPH ORPHAN ASYLUM WAS ERECTED

“Horace Binney of the City of Philadelphia, Esquire, to the Corporation by the name, style and title of ‘The Trustees of the German Society of Roman Catholics of the Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia.’ ”

This Deed is dated April 21, A. D. 1806; being acknowledged the same day, and recorded at Philadelphia in Deed Book E. F. No. 23 page 287, &c., on April 22, 1806. It conveys “All That Certain lot or piece of ground numbered in the general plan of the City Lots No. 12 Situate on the West side of Sixth Street from the river Delaware, at the distance of Sixty-eight feet ten inches from the North side of Spruce street in the City of Philadelphia. Containing in breadth on said Sixth Street Twenty-three feet and in length or depth One hundred and ninety-eight (198) feet. Bounded Eastward by said Sixth Street, Northward by lot No. 13 sold to Adam Hubley. Westward by lot No. 8 sold to William Milnor, and Southward by lot No. 11 now belonging to the Trustees of the German Religious Society of Roman Catholics of the Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia.”

The purchase price named in this Deed is \$1500.00, and the receipt is signed by Horace Binney for that amount.

There is no mention in any part of the Deed, of a house or tenement on the lot; and as the description of the conveyed property begins: “All That Certain lot or piece of ground”, thus referring to no antecedent or existent messuage or habitation: it would appear that nothing was conveyed but the lot alone.

The Deed is a simple conveyance of this lot, without mention of uses, trusts, or purposes of the conveyance.

Here was erected the first St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum. The managers obtained a charter of incorporation on December 18th, 1807. The Asylum was conducted by lay matrons until August 1st, 1814, when the managers (Edward Carrell, James Oellers, John Gartland, Felix McQuaid, Timothy Currin, Cornelius Tiers, Timothy Desmond, William O'Leary and Michael Magrath) requested the Rev. Michael Hurley, O. S. A., Pastor of St. Augustine's, "to apply to the Sisters of Charity at Emmitsburg for a matron and ten assistant sisters to take charge of our Orphan House and to offer them for maintaining said House six hundred dollars a year."

A part of this house, the rear, is still standing. The Sisters removed to the present location, Seventh and Spruce, purchased on October 24th, 1836; but since then, much enlarged.

THE "IRISH CATHOLQUES" OF MONTSERRAT

On an examination of the history of Montserrat it is found that this island in the Caribbean Sea was discovered by Columbus in 1493. "The Spaniards gave to this island the name Montserrat from the resemblance it has to a mountain in Catalonia, not far from Barcelona, famous for a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin."¹

The first English settlement in the West Indies was made in 1624, by Sir Thomas Warner at St. Christopher's Island, "commonly called St. Kitts". This was undertaken by Warner and his associates who were an offshoot of Raleigh's "Company of Noblemen and Gentlemen of England for the Plantation of Guiana". In 1632 Montserrat was planted by a small colony detached from St. Christopher's. The separation appears "to have been partly occasioned by local attachments or religious dissensions which rendered their situation there uneasy being chiefly natives

¹ Pinkerton's *Col. Voyages*, London, 1819, II, 303.

of the Romish persuasion." ¹ But Fiske's *West Indies* ² records that in 1629 the English under Warner were driven out of St. Christopher's by the Spaniards, and that Warner then occupied, in 1632, Antigua and Montserrat. So that it may be probable that the Irish Catholics who went with Warner in 1624 to St. Christopher's remained there after the Spanish occupation, but did not harmonize with the new possessors, even though they were of the same faith; and that they followed Warner on his taking possession of Montserrat. The island was generally looked upon as an Irish colony. "There were seven hundred in Montserrat, sixteen years after it was first inhabited." ³

Nothing has been discovered to show that Warner and his associates attempted a settlement within the bounds of the colony of Virginia prior to 1624 but were obliged to go to St. Christopher's. At any rate historians agree that Montserrat was settled by the Irish in 1632, that their descendants, and even persons from other countries, spoke in Irish "even amongst the negroes." ⁴ How they came

¹ Edward's *Hist. W. Ind. Is.*, 496.

² P. 72.

³ These Irish may have formed part of the pioneer settlers who established themselves at a place called Kinsale, once the capital but now practically a part of the new capital, Plymouth, formed by a settlement of Puritans subsequent to the Irish.

A Frenchman, one D'Enambac, under the patronage of Cardinal Richelieu, had, prior to Sir Thomas Warner, settled the northwest coast of Montserrat at a point called Old Road. He brought some Irishmen with him and there formed the nucleus of the first Catholic colony on the island. They were refugees from the neighboring island of St. Christopher, who had fled from the ravages of a Spanish armament under Don Frederick de Toledo, who plundered the island.

The families of the Furlings and Kirwans of these early settlers are still represented at Montserrat by one representative of each family. Both are "Irish to the back-bone and still Catholics." There is also a Griffin, a descendant of the first of the name, but he is a Freemason.—[G. I. M.]

⁴ Thompson's *Geo. and Hist. Dict.*, London, 1812, 335.

to leave Ireland in 1624, under Warner, has not been learned. They could hardly have been voluntary emigrants; but whether so or not is not essential in the unraveling of the mystery that they were excluded from "Virginia" because of their religion when there is evidence that it was partly owing to "religious dissensions" in St. Christopher's Island after Spanish occupation that they went to Montserrat, the year before the arrival there, on their way to Maryland, of Father White and the other first settlers of that colony, whom they told of their exclusion from "Virginia on account of their religion."

Burton's *Life of Bishop Challoner* repeats these statements in saying: "The Montserrat Catholics were descended from Irish settlers who had been expelled from Virginia by the Episcopalians early in the seventeenth century for their fidelity to their faith."¹ He refers to Father Hughes's article in the *Dublin Review*, January, 1904, but this brings us to no higher authority than Father White and Governor Calvert. In 1667 the Governor of Montserrat, Stapleton, was an Irishman and a Catholic.

In the archives of the Propaganda, 1630, January 30th, is a report "on the mission made by the Archbishop of Guam with Irish Priests to the island of St. Christopher, whither many Irish have migrated." [xii, f. 17, No. 28; Guide Roman Archives, p. 126.]

The Vicar Apostolic of the London District, the Rev. Richard Challoner, in September, 1756, made report to the Propaganda of the state of religion in the American settlements. Referring to the islands of the West Indies, he reported: "The state of religion is much worse [here] than on the continent. . . . Montserrat, which is one of the least of our islands, has the greatest number of Catholics, such as they are, under the care of two Irish missionaries." In 1763

¹ II, 130.

Bishop Challoner reported that the number of those who professed the Catholic faith in these islands, is very small. Its exercise is tolerated nowhere scarcely, except in Montserrat, where there are at this time three Irish missionaries, but holding faculties from us." ¹ These were Fathers Lynch, Crump, and Dalton. ²

We lack evidence, however, of the exclusion of these Irish Catholics from the colony of Virginia, or that any even sought lodgment in any part of the extensive but unsettled country known as "Virginia", extending from the 30° to 45°. Yet the evidence is that they told Father White and Governor Calvert that they had been "banished" from "Virginia". It is also in evidence that it was in 1632 that they occupied Montserrat from St. Christopher's, which the Spaniards held from 1629, and that they left there on account of "religious dissensions". Nor can it be proved that Warner was in command of a settlement expedition sent out by those not interested in the colony of Virginia, but in Guiana—a term comprising all the West Indies.

As the Puritans settled Massachusetts Bay in 1620—that was part of "Virginia"—could it be possible that between 1620 and 1624 the Warner expedition stopped there and was not permitted to remain, especially as Irish Catholics would have been disembarked? A century later we have evidence of Massachusetts having ordered "certain families from Ireland to be warned off", though there were already many there.

In "A Summary of the Catholic Religion in the English Colonies in America" in the Propaganda archives, neither dated nor signed, though apparently written between 1763 and 1766, but probably by Vicar Apostolic Challoner, it is stated, concerning the Islands (West Indies):

¹ Burton's *Life of Challoner*, II, 126-134.

² *Ibid.*, 135.

“The state of religion is much worse than on the continent. The Catholics there are almost all of Irish birth or origin, and are all of an ill-ordered life. In Barbada (Barbadoes) there was lately an Augustinian religious who has since apostatized. The few Catholics there are now attended by the Missionaries residing on the island of Montserrat. This, which is one of the smallest of the English islands, contains however the greatest number of Catholics, some 300 or 400; they are attended by three or four Irish Missionaries but they have no consideration or care for the negroes, who are very numerous. The island of St. Kitts (Christopher) also contains some Catholics who call on the Missionaries in the neighboring island of Montserrat for their spiritual needs.”¹

¹ *U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1888.

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY COMMENT

A list of the members of the American Catholic Historical Society appeared in the March number of the RECORDS. Since that time the following have been elected members :

LIFE MEMBERS.

Brown, Magnus H., Pennsylvania.
Murphy, Rev. Jos. A., Pennsylvania.
Schmitt, Harry, Pennsylvania.

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Broderick, D. I., Maryland.
Coleman, P. J., Ohio.
Corrigan, Right Rev. Owen B., D.D., Maryland.
Costello, Mrs. Thos. J., Pennsylvania.
Crumbie, Thos. J., Pennsylvania.
Degelman, John N., Pennsylvania.
Dooley, Rev. W. P. F., New York.
Dooner, Mrs. P. S., Pennsylvania.
Freney, Michael, Pennsylvania.
Gallagher, H., New York.
Glynn, Martin P., Pennsylvania.
Gorman, Rev. Jos. A., S.J., Pennsylvania.
Holtzman, L. F., Pennsylvania.
Labor, Chas. A., Pennsylvania.
Lane, C. A., Jr., Pennsylvania.
Lane, Mrs. C. A., Jr., Pennsylvania.
Lisle, Mrs. R. Mason, Pennsylvania.
Longstreth, Mrs. Frank M., Pennsylvania.
McDonald, Wm. A., New York.
McGarvey, Rev. Wm., Pennsylvania.

McHenry, Jas. A., Maryland.
 McKenna, Eleanor, Pennsylvania.
 McPartland, John E., Connecticut.
 Morrissey, Rev. D. A., Pennsylvania.
 Mulherin, John E., Pennsylvania.
 Murphy, Edward J., Massachusetts.
 Muth, John C., Maryland.
 Nolan, Rev. Thos. J., Pennsylvania.
 O'Connor, Right Rev. John J., D.D., New Jersey.
 O'Dea, John, Pennsylvania.
 O'Neill, Hon. Jas. J., Pennsylvania.
 Reilly, T. F., Pennsylvania.
 Strecker, Dr. Edward A., Pennsylvania.
 Walsh, Thos. J., Connecticut.
 Watterson, A. V. D., Pennsylvania.
 Weller, Michael I., Washington, D. C.
 Whittaker, Benjamin F., Pennsylvania.

DEATHS.

Right Rev. Monsignor D. O'Callaghan, Boston, Mass.
 Mr. Thomas F. Tierney, Philadelphia.
 Mr. John Cooney, Philadelphia.
 Rev. D. J. Kehoe, D. D., Philadelphia.

The Society thanks the donors of the following appreciated accessions to the Library and Cabinet:

Presented by Mr. William H. Bennett, Brooklyn, N. Y.:

A Missal used by the Rev. Nicholas O'Donnell, O. S. A., editor of the *Catholic Herald*.

Presented by Mr. George J. S. Dowling, Brooklyn, N. Y.:

Numerous newspaper clippings.

Presented by Rev. H. T. Henry, Litt. D., LL.D.:

Eucharistica: Verse and Prose in honor of the Hidden God. Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, 1912.

Postal cards showing pictures of Catholic Churches, Schools, Convents, were presented by the Right Rev. Monsignor McDevitt, Mrs. I. J. Dohan, Mrs. William J. Doyle, the Rev. P. H. Kelly, S. J., Miss Jane Campbell, the Very Rev. Doctor Middleton, O. S. A.; Miss M. J. Jenkins, Baltimore; Miss Katherine Campbell.

Presented by Dr. Flick:

Several Magazines.

Presented by Alfred C. Ferris:

Souvenir volume of the Centennial Celebration of the Catholic Congress, 1789-1889.

Copy of the *Pennsylvania Packet*, July 8, 1776.

Copy of Vol. I, No. 1, of the *Public Ledger*.

Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, by the Rt. Rev. P. J. Carew, Philadelphia, 1838.

Some unbound numbers of the Life of Christ.

Presented by C. Wildermann Company, New York:

Copy of the Bible.

Presented by the American Press:

The Church and Social Problems, by Rev. Jos. Husslein, S. J.

Presented by Mr. Joseph Willcox.

Ivy Mills, 1722-1866. Willcox and Allied Families.

Presented by Mr. W. J. Power.

Photographs of Priests.

Presented by Mr. John F. Combs, Paris, France:

Portraits of Popes Leo XIII and Pius IX and X.

Some Papal Coins.

Presented by Mr. Oliver Hough:

Several copies of the *Cuba Review*.

Presented by Right Rev. Regis Canevin, D. D.:

"An examination historical and statistical of the losses and gains the Catholic Church in the United States from 1790 to 1910."

Presented by Miss Eleanor C. Donnelly:

Portrait of Miss Donnelly.

Box of Books and Pictures.

Presented by Dr. Wm. J. Campbell:

English and Spanish Dictionary, 2 vols., published by Fielding Lucas, Jr., Baltimore, 1828.

Presented by Dr. W. L. J. Griffin:

Pictures of Cardinal Logue laying the cornerstone of St. Patrick's Church; of the Statue of Father Corby at Gettysburg, and of the new Cardinals.

Presented by Father Benedict, O.S.B.:

Notes on the Catholic Church in Florida, by H. P. Clavreul.

Presented by the Rev. Matthew A. Hand:

Five bound volumes of the Parish Calendar of St. Anne's Church.

Presented by Mr. George Hookey:

Picture of the Crucifixion.

The Grounds of the Catholic Doctrine, 7th edition, 1752.

The Elevation of the Soul, Philadelphia, 1817.

Presented by Mr. Michael Jenkins, Baltimore, through Mr. Joseph Willcox, medal commemorating the Episcopal Jubilee of Cardinal Gibbons.

Presented by Miss Eliza Jenkins, through Mr. Joseph Willcox, Sketch of Miss Ellen M. Jenkins, *In Memoriam*.

Presented by Louisiana State Museum:

Medal commemorating the Centennial of Louisiana Statehood.

Presented by Hon. Victor J. Dowling:

Address delivered at the unveiling of the monument erected in Washington, D. C., in honor of Christopher Columbus by the Government of the United States of America, by Hon. Victor J. Dowling. Specially bound for *A. C. H. S.*

The American Catholic Historical Society extends a hearty welcome to the first issue of the Maine Catholic Historical Magazine published under the auspices of the Right Reverend Bishop of Portland and the Maine Catholic Historical Society. The purpose of the Magazine is to give "an accurate and complete record of all past and present events of the Diocese of Portland; all official reports of institutions; the official documents and a chronology of all important events of the Diocese." If there were such societies and magazines in every diocese of the country how much easier and more thorough would become the almost gigantic task of writing a history of the Catholic Church in the United States.

The Maine Catholic Historical Society was tentatively begun by Bishop Walsh in 1908 on the occasion of the Centennial celebration of St. Patrick's Church at Damariscotta. A permanent organization was effected on April 25th, 1911. The objects of the Society were:

(1) The research and publication of whatever is important in person, fact or document regarding the origin and growth of the Catholic Church in the present State of Maine.

(2) To assist similar societies in the State and Country, by affiliation and co-operation, to spread the life and truth and light of the Catholic Church.

The first issue of The Maine Catholic Historical Magazine appeared in July, 1913.

The first number presents the following attractive features: Engraved portrait of the Rt. Rev. Louis S. Walsh, D. D., Bishop of Portland; a succinct "Chronology", or biographic outline of his cosmopolitan career; the proper *Preface*, which is also a rational prospectus of the Maine Society's aims in a research direction; a leading article, *Universal Jubilee*, concerning the Constantine Centenary 313-1913; a circular letter to the parish clergy with reference to "The Year of Our Lord 1913, Third Centenary of the Catholic Church in Maine"; a chronicle of *Special Diocesan Days*; *Diocesan Chronology*, which likewise includes items of Catholic moment abroad; documents bearing upon the Society's formal inception and incorporation; a literary paper on Whittier's "Mogg Megone"; a chronicle of Maine Prelates, dating back to Norman jurisdiction of the Archbishops of Rouen, 1604-1659; a map of the Diocese of Portland; an Obituary notice; a fairly ample review of "The Catholic Church in Maine", as first cradled in the little colony of Holy Cross Island. Lastly, there is a miscellany of *Historical Notes*.

How excellent is the philosophic motive of this new Catholic enterprise in history, we see fittingly defined in the devout *Preface*. When a projector of research takes his key note from the Wisdom and Praise of Ancient Israel, further pointed by the Acts of the Apostles and St. Clement, "Pope, A. D. 68-76", we discern the right hand of a true *scribe* therein, bringing forth out of his treasure new things and old. Bishop Walsh is furthermore on firm ground when he defines the distinct advantages of a *Diocesan Magazine*. Every Catholic Diocese has its particular setting in the Church Ecumenic; and, just as one welcomes a good map or guide for exploring cities and countries, even so the amateurs and students of Catholic History can better pursue their cause in any given area where the Diocesan annals are alive and fruitful. In this

respect, the entire contents of our initial number of the Maine Society's Magazine afford a reasonably ideal foreground perspective of the general *vista*. Whether each and every number, at the rate of twelve numbers yearly, will tally with the high mark set by Volume I. No. 1, is ungracious to question; but from the solid attributes of Bishop Walsh himself, one may look for fulfilments on par, at least, with ripely deliberated promise. The fact, in fine, that the cradle of Catholic Maine was of French transplanting, has its felicity of contact in the French chapters of *Monseigneur's* ecclesiastic training: for he received the Tonsure in Montreal, Minor Orders and the Diaconate in Paris. Another point worth noting in this connection: Catholic Historical Societies are nowhere of mushroom significance; they date in unbroken succession from our own era backward to Gregory of Tours and the Saxon Chronicle, and still back to Eusebius, Apostles, Evangelists, Maccabean interim, Esdras, Moses. The Church, in a word, is Ecumenic in breadth of extension; integral as regards ordained continuity of the truth once delivered.

BOOK REVIEW

CHARACTER GLIMPSES OF MOST REVEREND WILLIAM HENRY ELDER, D.D., Second Archbishop of Cincinnati. Frederick Pustet & Co.

Lest others were to share our first misapprehension that the title of this volume bespoke mere fragments of attenuated biography, we can reassure them that something far more substantial is in store for those who shall feel disposed to read the compilation from cover to cover. There are glimpses and glimpses of men and nature; but even as a glimpse of the mountains which encompass Jerusalem leaves an imprint on devout vision transcending many fugitive ghosts of impressions from conventional scenery, so do these "Character Glimpses" of a great Prince of the Church afford permanent edification. Would only that their lessons could reach reflective minds outside the Catholic fold; for in this respect, again, the life of Archbishop Elder is of weight and moment vastly beyond his former Diocese of Natchez and Province of Cincinnati. Born of native Maryland ancestry, loyal English Catholic in all their generations, "William Henry" was a predestinated citizen of God's Kingdom on earth; and although of exceedingly plain ways of both thought and action, speech and manners, he proved also a true citizen of the world in his perfect breadth of human fellowship and cosmopolitan principles of justice. Whether he writes from his Maryland homesoil, or from the "Eternal City", or from Civil War battlefields, or from yellow fever camps, or from the deck of Mississippi steamboats, or descriptively of Catholic shrines like St. Ursula's in Cologne or that of Our Lady of Guadalupe, there is one same pervasive stamp on his entire utterance and motives: to glorify God and uphold the Cross of Christ. A pity that mischievous

calumniators of the Church in our midst, harping especially on the refrain of Catholic "hatred" of liberty, have not the soul to grasp the sublime drama which was enacted between the Catholic Bishop of Natchez on the right side, preposterous military authority herein on the wrong side, as touching "enforced" modes of prayer in war time. How calmly the Catholic Bishop adduced for his precedent of higher obedience to God alone, the valor of the Theban Legion; with what dignity he bore the hectoring insult of "traitor", for simply fulfilling his religious duty by the Church of all nations and ages, his unpartisan charity to friend and foe in the administration of the Last Sacraments. Indeed this military chapter in the career of Archbishop Elder merits peculiar study in virtue of his clear analysis of conflicting claims when the State assumes to usurp religious prerogatives pure and simple. Now, as then, there is always danger lest arbitrary tyranny should confound the distinction; thank God, enlightened statecraft is also not usually wanting in sagacity of judgment if only one carry the case above the obstructions of petty subordinates. In a word, the Government at Washington promptly sustained the Bishop's position. So would a wise military commander have done on the spot; but it happened that the obstructors of Bishop Elder were passionate, shallow bunglers.

"In hoc signo vinces". Grinding and prosaic to the verge of distraction, was the temporal situation in his Metropolis, when the Bishop of Natchez became translated to the Province of Cincinnati. Humanly viewed, the time and place demanded a master financier; what could a plain pastor of souls do to straighten out a nearly desperate tangle of debts and assignments. Yet, staggering though the task, excruciating the trial to one of the least mundane spirits in Christian annals, Archbishop Elder still drew his controlling force from sheer faith in Christ's Cross; nor succumbed beneath his burden till prosperity securely returned. Angry creditors were appeased and silenced by his exalted humility; none doubted his absolute rectitude though banks had failed and the times frowned cruelly. For his was a loftier morality than the negative

ideal: "Integer vitae scelerisque purus"; gaze rather on his open countenance, and see grace, dignity, benevolence in their supreme proportions. To consider the life and character of Archbishop Elder may therefore serve to remind Catholics that the Apostolic Succession is a very present reality in the Church of our own day; might it feebly avail to convince enemies of the Catholic faith that whereinsoever they revile and calumniate the Church and her leaders, they directly blaspheme the Lamb of God who alone takes away the sins of the world.

QUOTATIONS IN POETRY AND PROSE culled from Speeches and Writings of Irish and Irish-American Authors by Mrs. Elizabeth Murrin. John Murphy Co., Baltimore. 1912. 167 pp. Indexes to Subjects and Authors.

Might the author permit us to remark that this interesting, dignified and altogether attractive compilation reminded us of a certain charming portrait: *Jeune Irlandaise*, basking in a typical Dutch landscape of windmills and flat polders. The selections, in short, are of Irish derivation only in so far as writers of cosmopolitan literature happen to bear native Irish names. Likewise, one may call Thomson of the *Seasons* and *Castle of Indolence* a Scotch writer; but his fame rests upon intrinsic literary excellence that has little to do with his accidentally Scotch birthright. Neither is there anything specially Irish under most of the topical heads in this collection; inasmuch that the nominal Irish composition of the excerpts amounts to little more than the accident of race or name, artificially designed to classify a bookmaker's cullings *ad majorem Hiberniae gloriam*. That the means justify the end, in this case, we grant right gladly. For who can cavil or quarrel where he hears "The Harp that Once thro' Tara's Halls" (to cite a note of Irish purely); or who shall feel else than thrilled by stanzas of O'Hara's elegy, whether he perceive them in our national cemeteries—Arlington, Annapolis, Beaufort, Corinth—or even surprise them unawares in the dull routine of a public library?

"On fame's eternal camping-ground
 Their silent tents are spread,
 And glory guards with solemn round
 The bivouac of the dead."

Again, it is ennobling to reflect, with Archbishop Keane, "Art that suggests passion is like a fallen angel," no matter in what context we encounter so striking a figure. Barring, then, a few distinctive heads like *Harp*, *Erin*, *Erin's Flag*, and *Shamrock*, we are dealing with common stock and substance of literary English, not with characteristically Hibernian elements or processes, expressly Irish facts or factors. At all events, barring the frequent orthographic mistakes in the author's names, it is a worthy, readable, entertaining budget of select fragments, verse and prose.

EDUCATION HOW OLD THE NEW. (Lectures and Addresses).—1911.

MODERN PROGRESS AND HISTORY. Addresses on Various Academic Occasions. (Fordham University Press).—1912.

THE THIRTEENTH GREATEST OF CENTURIES. By James J. Walsh, K.C.St.G., M.D., Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Sc.D. Knights of Columbus Edition. Catholic Summer School Press, New York.—1913.

To strike a key note at once, lest so many titles might blur our clearer hearing: *Nil admirari* seems fairly to represent the author's balanced philosophy throughout the two volumes of lectures and addresses; and this being his manifest, deliberate, broadly matured cast of mind in approaching intellectual problems, the likewise deliberate and ripely selected *superlative* in the naming of his third volume (as we here cite them), evidently means just what he says, and is not put forward in the way of startling, sensational challenge. We confess that this prominence of a superlative in a work purporting to treat serious history soberly, somewhat forbids at first sight; we seem to be next expecting the dash and tumult of heralds,

horns and a tallyho party: but rest we tranquil. Dr. Walsh is too broad a scholar to adventure his powers indiscreetly; he knows his premises, background and middle distance, foreground and all points of accurate perspective, nor will he overstep any positive and comparative circumscriptions unless the duly transcending occasion so move him. He decidedly perceives this transcending occasion in the manifold brilliant records of the Thirteenth Century; the challenge, if any, he discovers in that Century's objective achievements and comprehensive play of intelligence: its works reveal their own prestige. Whoever may choose to dispute this high claim for the Thirteenth Century, must needs proceed along similar objective lines; and if possibly the competition were to prove less tense in this or that special chapter (say painting, the drama, geographic exploration), one feels that for the round sum of his conclusions Dr. Walsh presents a very strong case, capably sustained. His chapters on the Arts (including the Gothic Cathedrals), Great Latin Hymns, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Dante, afford such overtowering "high marks" as to offset the relatively lower marks in a supposed rivalry with other centuries; not to speak of many other significant prime factors of comparison (*Hansa*, for instance), wherein the Thirteenth Century can still rather teach our advanced later times than simply look up to them for new and brighter instruction.

For form and outward finish, the two volumes of lectures and addresses impress one rather more favorably than the Knights of Columbus Edition of the Thirteenth Century work. What is designed to enhance the latter volume by way of prefaces and quotations from other connoisseurs of the Thirteenth Century's preëminence, tends to mar the proper symmetry of the body of the work; much as the wooden framework and scaffolding in a sculptor's studio so far detract from the good appearance of his art intrinsic. So, too, one feels that the chapters of appendix form, however valid their suggestions and outlines, might either be reserved for future expansion in finished shape, or apportioned within the present work at a later edition.

These minor strictures disregarded, all three volumes merit widest reading and thoughtful digestion. In the modern drift towards minute specialization, we largely lose sight of the once recognized fact in society, that few men surpass a trained physician in breadth of knowledge of human nature, mind, body, moods. This trio of sagacious books by Dr. Walsh brings back to us that pleasing old fact with revived force and zestfulness. None but the very broadest adept in human nature could interpret, as he has done, the mind and processes of antiquity (Egyptian as well as the classical Greek and Roman) in terms that appeal sensibly and familiarly to our own times and fashions. "There is no new thing under the sun" might succinctly define the "burden" of his "Education How Old the New;" "History Repeats Itself," is a maxim fundamentally pervading "Modern Progress and History." In every instance the topic is wielded with incisive grasp of essential details, philosophic adjustment of principles and a firm command of moral discernment irrespectively of changeful manners in the human family.

A characteristic chapter, and also one of the most surely entertaining, is "Prescriptions Old and New" (in Modern Progress and History). "Pronunciation Old and New" teems with genial surprises for those complacent wits to whom the Irish "brogue" has been merely the butt of their ignorant levity. We have preferred to consider the three volumes in a single notice for the reason that amid all their diversity of theme and aspect, a common motive subtends them: "the dream and the interpretation are one." That is to say, if the precept *nil admirari* warns us not to imagine our immediate era the climax of wisdom and attainments, neither let it blunt us to the wisdom and excellence of past generations. And whilst, on the one hand, the human race never outstrips the consummate skill of its highest potencies in a given cycle of prowess, yet thus far the record notch for proved consummate skill stays clearly to the credit of the Thirteenth Century.

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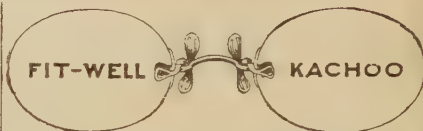
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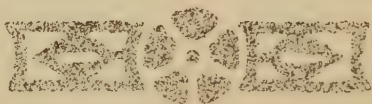
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RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE AIR OF THE "STAR-SPANGLED BANNER"

THE resolution which Mr. Paul Prodoehl, a delegate from Baltimore, offered last summer at the general assembly of the German Catholic Central Verein at Buffalo, rejecting "America" and suggesting "The Star-Spangled Banner" as the proper National song of America, called forth some criticism in the daily newspapers. The *Public Ledger* (7 August) remarked editorially: "Are those who object to the origin of 'America's' tune aware that the melody of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' was originally a rousing drinking song, entitled 'To Anacreon in Heaven,' and that where we sing of the rocket's red glare and bombs bursting in air the bacchanalians chanted: 'Voice, fiddle and flute, no longer be mute'?" The *New York Evening Sun* of the same date thinks that "no one has any doubt at all about the English origin of the tune to which we sing 'The Star-Spangled Banner'."

Commenting on the utterance of the *Evening Sun*, a writer in *America* (New York, 16 August, p. 450) says:

Well, the "Sun" is quite wrong. No less an authority on musical history than Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood is quite certain that the tune is not of English origin at all, and gave his proofs in the "Ave Maria," July 6, 1912. Key directed his song to be sung to the air "Anacreon in Heaven." This song was first published in America by Matthew Carey, an Irishman, in "The Vocal Companion," 1796. Now, the London record indexes show that Stafford Smith, the alleged English composer of the air, entered the copyright of his "Fifth Book of Canzonets," the collection which contained it, on May 14, 1799, and he had only arranged the tune in form of a glee; and though he lived till 1836, he never laid claim to its composition. "Anacreon in Heaven" had in fact been printed in 1771, before Smith had published anything. The music and words were reprinted by Anne Lee, of Dublin, in 1780, and it had appeared in many collections before Smith included it in his.

Dr. Grattan Flood asserts that the tune is Irish and was probably composed by Turlough O'Carolan, the last of the Bards, about 1730. The words "Anacreon in Heaven" certainly originated in Ireland previous to 1770, though they were slightly altered in the subsequent reprints, and the air has all the characteristics of O'Carolan, as a comparison of "Anacreon" with his "Bumpers, Squire Jones," will make evident. The legend of the air's English origin was created by Chappell; who mistook Smith's collection for his composition: and Mr. Sonneck, chief of the division of music in the Library of Congress, followed Chappell. Dr. Flood has demonstrated their error; hence the preference of "The Star-Spangled Banner" to "America" on the grounds of origin involves no inconsistency, and the "Sun's" little barb misses its mark. If, as seems probable, this magnificent national air came originally from Ireland, there is a fittingness in its being set to the deathless song that was inspired by the sight of America's flag floating triumphant from Fort MacHenry. Dr. MacHenry, Washington's army surgeon from 1776 and Secretary of War in 1796, and for whom the fort was named, was an Irishman.

This clear and condensed summary of the article in the *Ave Maria* is reprinted here for two reasons: first, it exhibits the main contentions of the article in easily intelligible form; secondly, it lends itself readily to full quotation. A word in addition about this second reason. Within a week after its publication in *America* the summary appeared, with due credit, in another Catholic weekly paper, and it may well be that many Catholic papers have reproduced it since then.¹

There is some ground, therefore, for fearing the growth of a legend which later may return to plague us. For the simple truth is that everything about the origin of the air of our national anthem is very far from being as clear as Dr. Flood would have his readers believe. It is true that he has "no hesitation" in claiming the air as of Irish origin, but we are under no obligation to share his confidence in this respect, for his assertions are not supported either by convincing reasons or by adequate references. His argument based on the characteristics of the melody is one which I shall enable my readers to estimate at its true value.

Meanwhile, what I shall have to say here is not meant as an adverse criticism of the clear and condensed summary itself, which is like a mirror in its faithful reflection of the impression made by the original article on a cultured and thoughtful reader. Neither is it my purpose to deny an Irish origin to the tune. My sole desire is to prove that Dr. Flood himself proves nothing in his article. We may hope thus to preserve an open mind

¹ Since writing this, a friend has sent me a clipping from the San Francisco *Leader* of 11 October, 1913, containing the summary. It has thus travelled the whole width of the country, from the Atlantic Coast to the Pacific. I have not searched the files of any Catholic papers, but I may fairly suppose that the summary has appeared in many others. The *Leader* also gives due credit to *America*.

on the subject, and to avoid entangling ourselves in a weak argument for a cause which otherwise might enlist our hearty support. I am encouraged in this pursuit of an ungrateful task by recalling how patiently and how minutely one of the great founders of our Society, Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin, labored to attain historical accuracy, even though the quest should lead at times to the overthrow of certain pleasant convictions entertained by Catholic speakers and writers.

Also I may hope that the present paper will prove of interest to us, as the subject not only is attractive in itself but also has been the occasion of not a little controversy, and I can only trust that it may not merit Waller's criticism of Milton's *Paradise Lost*: "If its length be not considered a merit, it hath no other."

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The length of the following article may prevent the accomplishment of my main purpose in writing it, namely, to hinder the growth of a legend whose repetition is much easier than its defence. A brief statement of the principal points touched upon may therefore be permitted here. I hope to show that:

1. The article in the *Ave Maria* is misleading both in its assertions and in its omissions.
2. "Anacreon" has hardly any characteristic resemblance to "Bumper."
3. The words were most probably composed by Tomlinson; the tune by Smith.
4. Mr. Sonneck's singularly careful *Report* to Congress is completely misrepresented in Dr. Flood's article.
5. There is no evidence, or even what purports to be such, that the tune is Irish in origin, or that the words "emanated from Ireland about the year 1765." In brief, there is no real basis for Dr. Flood's claim.

So much for the main purpose of my article. A subsidiary purpose—and one rendered desirable by reason of the main purpose—is to give some adequate idea of the present results of a lively discussion carried on in the last few years concerning the origin of the air. Into an account of the earlier vague and sometimes rather ludicrous ascriptions and contentions I do not enter, but it is interesting to note that as late as the year 1890 Grove's *Dictionary of Music* did not contain, even in its Appendix, any notice of our national air, while the revised edition (ed. by J. A. Fuller Maitland) of 1908 has an article of considerable length on the subject, contributed by Mr. Frank Kidson, the noted English musical antiquary. In 1909 Mr. O. G. Sonneck, chief of the Division of Music in the Library of Congress, presented to Congress an elaborate study of four of our national airs, and brought the discussion of the history of the "Star-Spangled Banner" down to date with finest critical acumen. Mr. John Henry Blake, an American inventor, worked patiently in London and discovered, in October, 1910, the important date of copyright of Smith's *Fifth Book of Canzonets*, etc., containing the air "harmonized by the author," and subsequently came upon another volume of Smith's (1780) containing an entirely different "Anacreontic," which was perhaps the cause of misapprehension as to the date of the Anacreontic Song (the source of our air) subsequently copyrighted by him (in 1799). In 1912 Dr. Flood contended for the Irish origin of the tune, and seemed to imply that it was probably composed by O'Carolan.

THE POSITIVE ARGUMENT

The argument in the *Ave Maria* is partly negative, partly positive. The negative part consists in an attempt to eliminate the commonly accepted English claim to the

tune of "To Anacreon in Heaven" (the tune, namely, of "The Star-Spangled Banner). The positive part attempts to establish an Irish origin for the air.

This is the logical order followed by Dr. Flood. The present article reverses that order and considers, first of all, the attempt to prove an Irish origin. If (as I think can be clearly shown) the argumentation of Dr. Flood has no good basis in fact, and was therefore foredoomed to failure, the elimination of this new factor from the problem of the authorship will enable the reader to consider dispassionately the previously accepted view that the air was composed by an Englishman, John Stafford Smith. The effect which Mr. Blake's recent discovery has on the problem can then be intelligently discussed and estimated.

The positive argument is found in the third paragraph from the end of Dr. Flood's article:

Having thus eliminated the English claim to the tune, I have no hesitation in claiming the tune as of Irish origin. Furthermore, it has all the characteristics of a composition by the famous Turlough O'Carolan, as can easily be tested by a comparison of "Anacreon" with O'Carolan's "Bumpers, Squire Jones." As O'Carolan died on March 25, 1738, the tune may be dated from about the year 1730, if not earlier. His fine melody known as the "Arethusa" was appropriated by the English, and was included for over a century as a "fine old English melody," until I disproved the ascription and showed its rightful provenance.

This is all of the positive proof: (1) the absence of hesitation on Dr. Flood's part in claiming an Irish origin for the tune; (2) the possession by the tune of all the characteristics of another tune by O'Carolan; (3) the English opinion that another song by O'Carolan was English, until Dr. Flood proved the opposite (but per-

haps this last statement was added not by way of proof or argument but merely as a *ratio convenientiae*, as theologians say).

The statements in the quoted paragraph will be taken up here in their order, but will be placed under headings intended briefly to interpret and to characterize them.

I. EXPERT OPINION

I have no hesitation in claiming the tune as of Irish origin.

These are the words of "no less an authority on musical history" than Dr. Flood, as the writer in *America* justly remarks, for Dr. Flood has written much on musical antiquities.¹

It may be said in general that the opinion of an expert is naturally worthy of careful consideration and respect, although he may not always be able clearly to define the basis of that opinion. His whole general knowledge and a certain kind of instinct born of his wide experience in restricted fields of investigation will help him to form a judgment, or at least a probable opinion, on some controverted matter—and this is valuable. It may nevertheless be that Dr. Flood is over-enthusiastic in some of his advocacies, and it is common knowledge that an

¹In 1905 he published his "History of Irish Music" (Dublin, 360 pages) and his "Story of the Harp" (London, 230 pages). The title-page of the former volume shows that he was then the organist of Enniscorthy Cathedral, Vice-President of the Irish Folk-Song Society, member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries. In 1911 he published his "Story of the Bagpipe," while he has contributed many papers to prominent magazines and articles to the "Catholic Encyclopedia." He is a Doctor of Music and a member of the Royal Irish Academy. Finally, the Holy Father has made him a Knight of St. Gregory. His words must therefore have great weight as coming from a qualified scholar in the fields both of music and of musical history. His article in the *Ave Maria*, however, bears the appearance of haste in its composition. The interests of correctness justify me in reviewing it adversely.

enthusiastic champion of any cause is rather apt to see the things he wishes to see, will unconsciously emphasize the things that make for his argument, and will with similar unconsciousness find little of moment in the things which militate against a cherished conviction.

At all events it is our present ungrateful task to review his statements about the air of "Anacreon." A reader of the *Ave Maria* article must have noticed that Dr. Flood failed to give references when he made some very startling statements (e. g., that the words of "Anacreon" "evidently emanated from Ireland about the year 1765." This is a point of capital importance, but it goes forth "without note or comment"). I must next call attention to a notable inconsistency in his statements made in *Church Music* (September, 1909, p. 281) and in the *Ave Maria* (6 July, 1912, pp. 19, 20). In *Church Music* he said (*italics mine*):

In June, 1904, . . . Dr. Cummings, in his lecture on "Old English Songs" . . . *proved conclusively* that Smith was the composer [of the tune of "Anacreon"].

In the *Ave Maria* he now makes no mention of his previous conviction of absolute proof for Smith's authorship, and roundly rejects the ascription, proving to his own satisfaction that the tune is not only not the composition of Smith, but is not even of English origin.

Again, in *Church Music*, he had said:

Smith was in his 21st year when he composed the music in 1770-1. . . . The most decisive proof of the fact that the tune was composed by Smith is that he includes it in his *Fifth Collection of Canzonets, Catches, etc.*, in 1781.

In the *Ave Maria*, however, he makes a *volta faccia* of the most pronounced type, with not a hint of his former positive assertion. He now writes:

Mr. Sonneck is wrong in following Chappell's view both as regards the composer of the melody and the date. He says that John Stafford Smith included the tune in his "Fifth Book of Canzonets," published between 1780 and 1790, and that Smith "probably" composed it about 1771.

In other words, the burden of the opinion now discredited by Dr. Flood, but formerly held by him as "proved conclusively," is laid on the shoulders of Mr. Sonneck; and this is done despite the clearest possible evidence that Mr. Sonneck did not share the common conviction of Smith's authorship. Here are the exact words of Mr. Sonneck (*Report*, p. 23):

Probably Smith composed it, *if he really did compose the tune*, as a song for one voice, and in "harmonizing" it for several and different voices he felt obliged to wander away from the original. Of course, *if the supposed 1771 sheet song* was a sheet song for one voice, and *if it contained Smith's name as composer*, then all *doubt* as to the original form and to the composer vanishes.

I have italicised the words of doubt and hesitation wherein Mr. Sonneck exhibited his lack of concurrence in the commonly accepted ascription to Smith. How (unless we assume that Dr. Flood wrote very hastily) can we politely characterize the method of quotation used by Dr. Flood: "Mr. Sonneck . . . says that John Stafford Smith . . . 'probably' composed it about 1771"? Mr. Sonneck is not speaking, on page 23 of his *Report*, of the question of ascription, but of the differing forms of the melody for single voice and for several voices; but even then he takes new occasion to exhibit his doubt as to the current ascription, in the words: "if he really did compose the tune"; and, instead of saying, as Dr. Flood makes him do, that Smith "probably" composed it about 1771, Mr. Sonneck distinctly hesitates to accept

the asserted 1771 sheet by writing: "if the supposed 1771 sheet song . . . and if it contained Smith's name. . . ."

Will it be believed that, having thus incorrectly burdened Mr. Sonneck with an opinion which Dr. Flood had himself previously declared to be "proved conclusively," Dr. Flood should have the hardihood to continue as follows?

It is simply amazing how one writer blindly copies another without taking pains to verify facts. Mr. Sonneck complacently followed the statement made by Chappell as to the music of "Anacreon in Heaven."

If, in the face of this literary cataclysm, we have leisure to indulge a sense of humor, we shall find good opportunity therefor in the reflection that Dr. Flood "complacently followed" Dr. Cummings in believing that Smith's authorship had been "proved conclusively," and later on "complacently followed" Mr. Blake in the "indisputable evidence" (the phrase is Dr. Flood's) that Smith had "merely *arranged* the tune in the form of a 'glee,' and that he did not claim any copyright for the tune."

Dr. Cummings "proved conclusively" that Smith composed the air; Mr. Blake found "indisputable evidence" that Smith did not compose the air. We begin to doubt these superlatives.

Our trust in an expert in any field of human endeavor must largely be based on the assumption that, in debatable and obscure matters, his views are arrived at slowly and are expressed with moderation of statement.

Such phrases as "proved conclusively" and "indisputable evidence" are rather strong ones, and Dr. Flood is apt to indulge freely in them. In an article in *The Dolphin* (Phila., 1905, vol. viii, pp. 187-193) claiming "Yankee Doodle" as Irish in melody, we find him vindicating

an Irish authorship of other songs with the phrases "undoubtedly Irish", "not a shadow of doubt", "unquestionable Irish origin"—all in one paragraph. Again, in the *Ave Maria* article, the tune of "The Star-Spangled Banner" has "all the characteristics" of one by O'Carolan.

The words of the "Anacreon in Heaven" could be traced (and even thus, only with some probability) back to 1770-1, and this was an element in fixing that as the date of composition of the tune. If these words dated farther back, and if they were not even of English origin, but instead were of Irish origin, it is needless to suggest the total reconstruction of our ideas thus made necessary in treating of the tune. In the *Ave Maria*, Dr. Flood says that the words are of Irish origin, and "evidently emanated from Ireland about the year 1765." But where is the evidence either that they were Irish or that they emanated from Ireland "about the year 1765"? Dr. Flood whets our curiosity, but leaves it without the shadow of satisfaction—for "further deponent sayeth not."

When, therefore, Dr. Flood, "having thus eliminated the English claim to the tune," declares that he has "no hesitation" in claiming it as of Irish origin, we begin faintly to suspect the value of his absence of hesitation. His language is not marked by that moderation which we should expect in obscure matters; his statements are unsupported by adequate references; and, as we have already shown, his certainty of one day is contradicted by his certainty of another day.

2. MUSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Furthermore, it [the tune of "To Anacreon in Heaven"] has all the characteristics of a composition by the famous Turlough O'Carolan, as can easily be tested by a comparison of "Anacreon" with O'Carolan's "Bumpers, Squire Jones."

This is the only positive argument for the Irish provenance of the tune of our national song. It "has all the characteristics" of a song by O'Carolan. Again we observe the somewhat superlative character of the phraseology used by Dr. Flood. It is not, however, necessary for us to deny or qualify his statement, for he himself has already furnished us with a previously uttered view of the characteristics of the tune. When he was proving in *Church Music (ut supra, p. 282)*, that the English composer, Smith, was its author, he wrote:

Smith was in his 21st year when he composed the music in 1770-1, and *internal evidence clearly points* to the influence of Boyce, under whom he was then studying: indeed, some of the phrases are *strongly reminiscent* of Boyce's "Heart of Oak."

The italics in the above paragraph are ours. They are like a sign-post set up in the weary journey of investigation, to warn us against too ready a trust in the value of internal evidence. "Characteristics" are internal evidence of a certain kind. Our tune "has all the characteristics" of one by the Irish musician O'Carolan; but it nevertheless is able, of itself, to point to the influence upon its composition, of the eminent English musician, Boyce, and "some of the phrases", even, are "strongly reminiscent" of Boyce's "Heart of Oak." Who will not recall here the answers of the courtly Polonius to the melancholy Dane?

Hamlet.—Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in shape of a camel?

Polonius.—By the mass, and 't is like a camel, indeed.

Hamlet.—Methinks it is like a weasel.

Polonius.—It is backed like a weasel.

Hamlet.—Or like a whale?

Polonius.—Very like a whale.

The truth appears to be that in attempting to trace the history of tunes, musical historians are becoming afraid to lay much stress on "characteristics," or even on melodic similarities. Musicians borrow unconsciously from one another; and there are musical phrases which are common property. The present writer once played "Yankee Doodle" (slowly, and with a full and sober harmony) for a competent musical critic, who hesitated to assign its authorship positively, but thought it was either by Mozart or by Haydn. Archbishop Ryan once heard an orchestra play Dvorak's *Humoresque*, and some time afterwards desired the orchestra to repeat "that Irish melody." And Mr. Sonneck remarks in his *Report* (p. 78): "The efforts unreservedly to attribute the air of 'God Save the King' to Dr. John Bull (1619), merely because a few notes are similar, remind me of Mr. Elson's witty observation that with such arguments the main theme of the last movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony would come very close to being inspired by 'Yankee Doodle.'"

Apropos of this, in *The Dolphin* (*loc. cit.*), Dr. Flood contended for the Irish origin of "Yankee Doodle," urging that "the very structure of this tune is seen to be decidedly Irish, and apart from any other argument intrinsic evidence should point to its Irish origin." Hereupon Mr. Sonneck (*Report*, p. 146) countered with the contention: "Since the structure of the melody has been claimed with equal enthusiasm as decidedly Hessian, Hungarian, Scotch, English, etc.—indeed, in his letter quoted above, Mr. D. F. Scheurleer called my attention to the similarity of 'Yankee Doodle' with the tunes of the itinerant Savoyards—Mr. Grattan Flood's manifestly sincere assertion cannot be accepted without very careful proof as 'intrinsic evidence.'"

COMPARISON OF CHARACTERISTICS.

I. "Bumper," etc.

II. "Anacreon," etc.

The musical score is organized into four rows, each containing two measures. The measures are numbered 1 through 16. The notation is as follows:

- Measure 1:** Staff I has a half note G4 and a dotted eighth note F#4. Staff II has a half note G4 and a dotted eighth note F#4.
- Measure 2:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 3:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 4:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 5:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 6:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 7:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 8:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 9:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 10:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 11:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 12:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 13:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 14:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 15:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.
- Measure 16:** Staff I has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. Staff II has eighth notes G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4.

NOTE.—Musical readers may think that the first two notes (a sixteenth followed by a dotted eighth) of "Anacreon" should be a thirty-second followed by a dotted sixteenth. I follow, however, the exact engraving in the "Anne Lee" (of which a photographic copy is given by Mr. Blake) with the single exception, of course, that I reduce from 6-4 time to 6-8.

I have devoted perhaps too much space to an *a priori* judgment of musical characteristics and similarities as determining elements in the formation of a judgment concerning musical identities or origins. It is necessary that the exact case taken by Dr. Flood should now be investigated.

COMPARISON OF "BUMPER" WITH "ANACREON"

As already stated, the only argument of apparent value advanced by Dr. Flood for the Irish origin of the air of our national anthem is the one he bases on musical "characteristics," for the melody of "Anacreon" has, he declares, "all the characteristics" of O'Carolan's "Bumper, 'Squire Jones." He invites his readers to make the comparison, assuring them that the truth of his assertion "can easily be tested" in this way. The test is not, however, quite so easily made, for the readers must catch their hare first—must first of all find O'Carolan's air—and then must proceed to cook it, as it were, in the same pot with "Anacreon."¹

To facilitate for them the process of comparison, I have transposed "Anacreon" from the key of C into the "Bumper" key of B-flat, and have turned its 6-4 time into the 6-8 time of "Bumper." Something is lost to my demonstration of the dissimilarity between the two airs by this change in the apparent rhythm of "Ana-

¹ I have said that they must first catch their hare. But this is not enough; for they must be sure that the hare they catch is the right one. For instance, O'Neill's fine collection, the *Music of Ireland* (No. 639), regularizes the rhythm (a most important point in comparing or contrasting the melodies of "Anacreon" and "Bumper," as we shall see) of "Bumper," by adding a whole measure. Baron Dawson's "Imitation" of the original Celtic text of O'Carolan could not be adapted to this modernization of the old air except by undue repetition of the initial words. In addition, the musical phrasing is badly disturbed by the location of the new measure. ♪

creon"—this change of quarter notes into eighth notes; for the tendency is a natural (although not, it is true, a necessary) one, to sing 6-8 faster than 6-4 time, and to give "Anacreon" something of the rollicking gait of "Bumper." We are thus tempted to turn what may have been a fairly slow or at least a fairly moderate *tempo* of "Anacreon" into what was most probably a fairly fast *tempo* of "Bumper." But if the comparison is to be made with ease and some approximation to accuracy, the change of "Anacreon" to the same key and the same apparent rhythm as those of "Bumper" is almost a necessity.¹

My readers are now invited to make the comparison desired by Dr. Flood. The upper staves give the air of O'Carolan's song; the lower staves give the air of "To Anacreon in Heaven." Dr. Flood assures us that the latter melody "has all the characteristics" of the former. A glance at the first three notes of "Bumper" may superficially remind us of the first three notes of our national anthem (as it is sometimes played), and this fact may have suggested to Dr. Flood his conception of the similarity between the two airs. But even this similarity is in reality only superficial and appeals only to the eye, for the ear will immediately recognize that in point of rhythm the first three notes disagree thoroughly, the second note of "Bumper" receiving the musical accent of the measure, while the third note of the "Star-Spangled Banner" receives that most important musical

¹ In the interests of brevity, I have condensed the title of O'Carolan's air to "Bumper," without pretending to reflect on Dr. Flood's title. In his admirable volume on *Irish Folk Music*, O'Neill calls it "Bumpers Esquire Jones," and remarks that in *The Hibernian Muse* the title is modified into "Bumper 'Squire Jones," and that it was thus given in a collection of O'Carolan's airs in 1780, and has ever since been so styled in print.

accent. However, the comparison we are to make is not between these two airs, but between the air of "Bumper" and that of "Anacreon" (whose initial notes have not even a superficial resemblance to the initial notes of "Bumper"). This is a fact to be borne in mind.

If my readers will play or sing the lower staves first of all, they will find substantially the melody of our national anthem, but will not find the initial descending notes of the "Star Spangled Banner"—a fact of which once more I beg to remind them. Having done this, let them (with whatever force of prepossession and association of ideas Dr. Flood's view may have upon their imaginations) play the upper staves throughout. Or, if they prefer, let them reverse the process, and play first of all the upper staves, and then the lower staves. Will they notice even the slightest resemblance between the two airs? Do these two airs appear to have any characteristics in common, however sturdily Dr. Flood may assert that that they have "all the characteristics" in common?

Roughly speaking, they have indeed the same rhythm (innumerable melodies have the same rhythm, and the rhythm cannot therefore be considered, in such cases, as a "characteristic," for the simple reason that it becomes so trite as to lose every element of a "characteristic"). And yet, in this very question of rhythm, we immediately find a strikingly characteristic differentiation between "Anacreon" and "Bumper." O'Carolan's air lacks a whole measure (namely the one I have marked "8") and is, because of this omission, "irregular" in rhythm, while the air of "Anacreon" is "regular." Here the remark of Douglas Hyde (s. v. "O'Carolan" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*) is of importance: "His (O'Carolan's) poems are full of curious twists and turns of metre to suit his airs, to which they are admirably wed, and very

few are in regular stanzas.”¹ Even apart, therefore, from any comparison with “Bumper,” we should *prima facie* declare that “Anacreon” is most probably not Carolanian, for the reason that it lacks the usual characteristic of Carolan’s airs—irregularity of rhythm.

The only characteristic in which “Bumper” and “Anacreon” agree is the apparently perfect agreement to disagree perfectly; for where one melody ascends, the other descends, and *vice versa*. This agreement to disagree begins with the very first notes and continues throughout to the end, except in the first half of the eleventh bar. So true is this that if the reader looks at any two connected staves, he will fancy that he is gazing at an illustration of scholastic counterpoint in contrary motion. If he should have a very literal mind, he will gravely count the notes on which the two melodies agree as they pass each other, and will not be surprised that they are so very few in number. The “Anacreon” air has one hundred notes, and only seven of these coincide with notes in O’Carolan’s air. Seven per cent is not a notable agreement.

The eighth-notes in “Anacreon” are liberally interspersed with sixteenths and quarters and dotted eighths, and the result is that we have really a song of some dignity of rhythm; while the air of O’Carolan’s “Bumper,” with its overwhelming proportion of eighth-notes, reminds us of that form of dance known as a reel. And in this fact is discovered another point of characteristic disagreement of the two melodies.

Speaking of reels reminds me that another test may be made of this question of “characteristics.” Play O’Car-

¹ Petrie had already called attention to this peculiarity in his *Ancient Music of Ireland* when noting (I, p. 39) that the planxty “Lady Wrixon” has “no inequalities in the time of the parts,” and also in his comment on the planxty “O’Flynn” (I, p. 149).

olan's air for anybody who has not read the present discussion, and ask him (or her) if it suggests any other known melody. Everybody knows the melody of "The Star-Spangled Banner," but I venture to predict that nobody will find this air suggested by O'Carolan's. I will also venture to predict that any person who knows the so-called "Virginia Reel" (*i. e.*, "The Irish Washerwoman") will discover in it the *res signata* by the "Bumper, 'Squire Jones."

The fact is that the only apparent agreement in characteristics is in that of rhythm, and even here, as I have shown, the agreement is far from exact, and the inexactness is a characteristic of O'Carolan's muse, but not of the "Anacreon." A closer agreement in rhythm might be found in many other airs.

Having thus made the comparison in the most obvious way, it is fair to assume that Dr. Flood did not contemplate such a parallel method. Perhaps he had in mind that (as illustrated in measure 9) both melodies suddenly rise from a low to a very high note. This is true, but can be paralleled in various old Irish, Scotch, English, Welsh melodies. It is not a "characteristic."

But the two compared (*contrasted* would be a better word) melodies really differ in almost everything that can bear the name of "characteristic." They have characteristically different openings; for "Bumper" descends and remains for a brief time on the low ground thus reached, while "Anacreon" leaps up with vigor from that low ground to higher altitudes with rapid bounds. They have also characteristically different endings; for the thrice-repeated tonic (found four times in the cadences of "Bumper") cannot be found even once in "Anacreon"—and the triple repetition of the tonic in the final cadence is, as stated by Dr. Flood in his *History of Irish Music*, one of the characteristics of old Irish melody.

They differ characteristically in rhythm, as has already been pointed out. They differ characteristically in length—for “Bumper” has one measure less than “Anacreon.” They differ in spirit; for “Bumper” is convivial, while “Anacreon” (although indeed formerly used as a convivial song) is really (as the immortality it has achieved as our national anthem demonstrates) martial in sentiment. They differ in melodic movement; for where “Bumper” ascends, “Anacreon” descends—and *vice versa*. They differ in phrasing, as any musician will readily perceive, although it is not within our scope to illustrate the fact here. Summing up the whole matter briefly, we find that the two melodies differ in their beginnings and in their endings and in the whole melodic movement between these two boundaries; they differ also in their rhythm, their length, their spirit, their phrasing. In what that can fairly be styled a *characteristic* do they agree? How, then, can Dr. Flood say that the air of “Anacreon” “has all the characteristics” of that of “Bumper”?

The comparison of the tunes of “Bumper” and “Anacreon” makes the contention of Dr. Flood unacceptable to us. If “Bumper” is characteristically Irish, then its antithesis, “Anacreon,” must be characteristically non-Irish. But the matter is even more curious than this. After I had transcribed the “Bumper” song from an antique volume of music, I chanced to look over the chapter on disputed ascriptions in O'Neill's *Irish Folk Music*, and there learned that—*mirabile dictu!*—the tune of “Bumper” had been adjudged ENGLISH by Burk Thumoth (who in 1720 published the first collection of Irish airs), who placed it among the “Twelve English Airs” in his second volume. Hereupon O'Neill remarks that the air is duly accredited to O'Carolan in *The Hibernian Muse*, “the editor of which in this instance ventured to doubt Thumoth's infallibility.” Can humor farther go?

3. *RATIO CONVENIENTIÆ*

His [O'Carolan's] fine melody known as the "Arethusa" was appropriated by the English, and was included for over a century as a "fine old English melody," until I disproved the ascription and showed its rightful provenance.

I trust that I have understood this assertion properly in considering it not as an argument, in the strict sense, or as a proof, but as what I have ventured to style it, namely, a *ratio convenientiæ*—that is, something that conciliates attention to an argument by removing misconceptions, disarming prejudices, and changing wrong *a priori* standpoints, as well as by showing the antecedent probability of the arguments a writer may bring forth in support of a position.

When identifying the air of "Yankee Doodle" (in *The Dolphin*, *loc. cit.*) with that of "All the Way to Galway," Dr. Flood used a similar *ratio convenientiæ*, declaring:

Other airs of the same period [sc. 1750], like "Ally Croker," "The Rakes of Mallow," "The Pretty Girl of Derby," have been claimed as English, though undoubtedly Irish, and there is not a shadow of doubt as to the English annexation of numerous Irish airs of the Jacobite period. Even a recent collection includes "The Arethusa" and "Nancy Dawson" as "old English airs," in sublime disregard of their unquestionable Irish origin.

In this extract we again meet with pronounced convictions expressed in the words "not a shadow of doubt," "undoubtedly," "unquestionable." Assuming that they are justified by the facts of the case, the value of the *ratio convenientiæ* might be summed up by saying that there is no inherent improbability in the view that the tune of "To Anacreon in Heaven" was really

borrowed from Ireland. It would hardly be justifiable to go further than this, and to contend for a probability that the tune was in fact taken thence.

Such a probability might indeed be constructed, if the habit of borrowing were all on one side; that is, if many reputedly English airs could "unquestionably" be ascribed to Irish sources, and if no reputedly Irish airs could similarly be referred "without a shadow of doubt" to English or other sources. Let us, then, hear the other side.

In his *Song Book* (London, 1866), John Hullah records a number of instances of what he considers English airs masquerading as of Irish origin:

(a) Hullah thinks that Chappell "has thoroughly disposed of the Irish claim" to the melody of Moore's, "As Slow Our Ship" (English: "The Girl I Left Behind Me"), adding that "The termination of 'As Slow Our Ship' in the *Irish Melodies* is doubtless Moore's own."

(b) Moore refers the melody of "Believe Me if All Those Endearing Young Charms" to the song, "My Lodging it is On the Cold Ground." This latter song is given by Hullah, who remarks ironically on it: "Another 'Irish Melody,' undoubtedly of English origin. The writer of 'Believe Me if All Those Endearing Young Charms' may, however, be pardoned his abduction, in consideration of the immortal verse to which he has married the music he ran away with."

(c) Hullah declares that the melody of the song, "Shepherds, I Have Lost My Love," is the melody "to which Moore has adapted his elegant 'When Through Life Unblest We Rove.' There seems no reason to doubt its English origin."

(d) Of Moore's "Oh! Could We Do With This World of Ours," Hullah says: "Another of the 'Irish melodies,' entitled by Moore *Basket of Oysters*. 'It has been

a favorite tune,' says Mr. Chappell, 'from the time of Elizabeth to the present day.'"

(e) Moore's *Song of the Battle-Eve* ("Tomorrow, comrade, we") has the melody of the *Cruiskeen Lawn* and of "John Anderson My Jo." Hullah says: "Mr. Chappell regards this beautiful melody as a 'mere modification of the English tune' 'I Am the Duke of Norfolk,' which 'has remained in constant and popular use from the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth down to the present time.' Moore has included it, modified as usual, in his *Irish Melodies*, under the name of *Cruiskeen Lawn*. Whatever be its origin or date, its interest and popularity are due entirely to the words, with which it is now universally associated. By right of conquest, at least, it is a Scottish song."

(f) "Chappell has called attention to the resemblance which this tune [Moore's "Rich and rare were the gems she wore"] and even its original words, bear to the celebrated English canon 'Sumer is y-comin in'" (c. 1216).

Into the correctness of the above ascriptions of tunes it is not really necessary for us to enter here. Whether the statements be objectively correct or not, they are made with equal confidence—and from an equally acceptable source—with those of Dr. Flood. They indicate what is probably a very common thing in the long

¹ *Apropos* of "characteristics" and the hostile national claims based on them, it is interesting to find the eminent Dr. Stokes (who loved his Ireland dearly) ascribing the air of the *Cruiskeen Lawn* to Danish sources in his *Life of George Petrie* (p. 311): "A few Danish airs are to be met with in Scotland, as in Ireland . . . while among the airs of Ireland, 'The Cruiskeen Laun,' is a known example of a Danish war-like song, or a march. When played in march time, all character of a drinking song disappears; and Moore, in giving his words—

'To-morrow, comrades, we
On the battle-field must be,'

to this air, seems to have recognized its nature."

history of music—namely, mutual borrowings, the initial one of which is, in some cases, lost in the twilight of musical and national history. They also indicate that an argument from “similarities” or “characteristics” has not a very compelling force. In view of these quoted statements, it seems pretty clear that the *ratio convenientiæ*, when confronted with the “other side” of the question, has also lost much of its conciliatory force.

We should rejoice to know that the tune of “The Star-Spangled Banner” was of Irish origin. Why, then, have we taken the trouble to investigate the value of the reasoning? Why not accept as a fact what would naturally please us so much? Well, for one thing, the shade of our own Martin I. J. Griffin stands in our pathway to this delectable goal. He seemed always to prefer truth—or such a modicum of truth as human patience could attain to in American Catholic History—to any preconception, however pleasant it might be. For another thing, the very readable, well-condensed summary in *America*, of the paper contributed by Dr. Flood to the *Ave Maria*, lends itself readily to quotation by our Catholic press; and thus a legend may grow up to whose exact correctness we should probably lend too ready an assent, only to find later—mayhap—that the defence of the legend is not quite as easy as its repetition.

THE NEGATIVE ARGUMENT

I think the question of the authorship of the tune has been simplified by elimination of the Irish claim (so far, of course, as that claim rests on the bases furnished by Dr. Flood’s article). We are now able to consider the effect of Mr. Blake’s discovery on the commonly accepted view that Smith is the author. In rejecting this view (which had in 1909 been held by him) Dr. Flood writes :

In order to bolster up Stafford Smith's claim as a composer of the tune, Chappell and his copyists give the date of his "Fifth Book of Canzonets" as "1780 or 1785." Fortunately for historical accuracy, a wealthy Irish-American, Mr. John Henry Blake, went to the Copyright Office, Stationers' Hall, London, and searched the record indexes of the copyright department from 1746 to 1799 inclusively, with the result that he discovered the actual date on which Smith entered the copyright—namely, May 14, 1799.

Dr. Flood is very severe on "Chappell and his copyists" who attempted to "bolster up" Smith's claim by assigning too early a date for his volume. But as late as 1909 Dr. Flood himself wrote in *Church Music*:

The most decisive proof of the fact that the tune was composed by Smith is the fact that he includes it in his *Fifth Collection of Canzonets, Catches, etc.*, in 1781.

Shall we reckon Dr. Flood among the "copyists" who attempted to "bolster up" Smith's claim by assigning a date for his volume at least eighteen years before the appearance of the volume?

It will be convenient to divide our discussion of the "Negative Argument" into four parts suggested by Dr. Flood's treatment of the question: 1. The Discovery of the True Date of Smith's Copyright; 2. Smith Arranged the Tune as a Glee; 3. Smith "Never Claimed the Tune as His"; 4. The Authorship of the Words.

I. DISCOVERY OF THE TRUE DATE OF COPYRIGHT.

To understand the significance of Mr. Blake's discovery of the date of copyright of the *Fifth Book of Canzonets*, etc., the following historical details or assertions may be briefly given. And first of all, as to the Anacreontic Society. In his *Musical Memoirs* (1830) W. T. Parke wrote under the year 1786:

This season I became an honorary member of the Anacreontic Society, and at the first meeting played a concerto on the oboe, as did Cramer on the violin. The assemblage of subscribers was as usual very numerous, amongst whom were several noblemen and gentlemen of the first distinction. Sir Richard Hankey (the banker) was the chairman. . . . The meetings were held in the great ball-room of the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, once a fortnight during the season, and the entertainments of the evening consisted of a grand concert, in which all the flower of the musical profession assisted as honorary members. After the concert an elegant supper was served up; and when the cloth was removed, the constitutional song, beginning, "To Anacreon in Heaven," was sung by the chairman or his deputy. This was followed by songs in all the varied styles, by theatrical singers and the members, and catches and glees were given by some of the first vocalists in the kingdom.

Parke goes on to relate that the Duchess of Devonshire, "the great leader of the *haut ton*, having heard the Anacreontic [that is, the song 'To Anacreon in Heaven'] highly extolled," wished to hear it (privately) sung at the concert, and a lattice-work was put up to allow her and her accompanying ladies to attend without being seen. He goes on to say that "some of the comic songs not being exactly calculated for the entertainment of the ladies, the singers were restrained; which displeasing many of the members, they resigned one after another; and a general meeting being called, the society was dissolved."

The dissolution, however, did not occur in 1786, but sometime later. Neither is the date of the foundation of the society certain, "and therefore it is a somewhat open question since when 'To Anacreon in Heaven' can have been sung as the 'constitutional' song of this society". Thus Mr. Sonneck (*Report*, p. 20),

who quotes from Dr. Flood's "Notes" the statement that "The words and music of 'To Anacreon' were published by Longman and Broderip in 1779-1790. and were reprinted by Anne Lee of Dublin (?1780) in 1781. . ."; follows on with a statement from a letter to him written by Mr. William Barclay Squire (21 Sept., 1908) that both publications "are about 1780, but it is *quite impossible to tell the exact dates*", [italics mine] and gives the titles of the Longman and Broderip edition (transcribed by Chappell for *Notes and Queries* in 1873):

The Anacreontic Song, as sung at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, the words by Ralph Tomlinson, Esq., late President of that Society. . . .

Dr. W. H. Cummings, the distinguished English scholar, wrote to Mr. Sonneck (7 Nov., 1908):

I had a copy of Smith's "To Anacreon in Heaven" published in 1771, but cannot now find it. I have two copies of a little later date. The first named was a single sheet song.

Mr. Sonneck comments:

Doctor Cummings evidently was not willing to commit his memory under the circumstances on the point of imprint, nor does he make it clear whether or no Smith's name appeared on the sheet song as that of the composer. Assuming that Doctor Cummings had every solid reason to date this, the earliest known issue, of "To Anacreon," 1771, it follows that words and music must have been written at the latest in 1771 and at the earliest in the year of the foundation of the "Anacreontic Society," which is unfortunately unknown. . . . About 1780 Ralph Tomlinson, esq., appears in the Longman & Broderip edition, as the "late President of the Society," and no other gentleman has yet been found to have preceded him in the chair.

The song—with or without music—appeared as follows (abbreviated from Sonneck's *Report*):

- 1771 (?) (Dr. Cummings' sheet);
- 1778 (words only, in *Vocal Magazine* etc., London);
- 1780 (*circa*) (words and tune, Longman & Broderip, London, and reprint by Anne Lee, Dublin);
- 1783 (words and music in *Vocal Enchantress*, London);
- 1788 (in *Calliope; or, the Musical Miscellany*, London);
- 1792 (in *Edinburgh Musical Miscellany* Edinburgh);
- 1797 (in *Vocal Magazine*, Edinburgh);
- 1796 (as a Masonic Ode, Dublin);
- 1802 (2nd edition of Masonic Ode).

Mr. Sonneck comments :

The inference to be drawn from the insertion of "To Anacreon in Heaven" in the quoted collections, not to mention many later collections, is plain. As those collections were among the most important and most popular of the time, "To Anacreon in Heaven" must have been familiar to all convivial souls in the British Isles toward 1800. Now it is fact that with the exception of that mysterious sheet of 1771, not one of these publications alludes to the composer of the tune. It was not a rule to do so in miscellaneous collections, yet it is a curious fact that, while contrary to custom, Stewart's *Vocal Magazine*, 1797, mentions in a separate index the composers of many of the airs, it leaves "To Anacreon in Heaven" without a composer. Possibly the editor doubted the now generally accepted authorship of John Stafford Smith, or he was still unaware of the peculiar form of entry (mentioned by William Chappell as early as 1873!) of "To Anacreon in Heaven" in:

The fifth book of canzonets, catches, canons and glees, sprightly and plaintive with a part for the pianoforte subjoined where necessary to melodize the score; dedicated by permission to Viscount Dudley and Ward, by John Stafford Smith, Gent. of His Majesty's Chapels Royal, author of the favorite

glees, Blest pair of Syrens, Hark the hollow woods, etc. The Anacreontic, and other popular songs. Printed for the author. . . .

This collection was published between 1780 and 1790, the exact date being unknown.

This "fifth book of canzonets", then, is the book whose date of copyright was found (in October, 1910) by Mr. John Henry Blake, an American, after a search in the records of Stationers' Hall, London, from the dates 1746-1799. He located the copyright entry of the *Fifth Book of Canzonets* as 8 May, 1799, and notes a misprint of the title (as given above by Mr. Sonneck) of which he furnishes a photographic facsimile in his monograph. The period-mark placed before "The Anacreontic, and other popular songs", should be a comma, and the word "The" should begin with a small letter—thus associating, Mr. Blake argues, the Anacreontic, not with "other popular songs", but with the previously mentioned "glees". Mr. Blake elevates into a point of capital importance what is merely a printer's error.¹

¹As I shall have to pass severe criticism on some of the statements of Dr. Flood, I take occasion of this printer's error to felicitate Dr. Flood on his discernment (which becomes, indeed, the usual possession of anyone who publishes much and knows how easily a printer may make mistakes) in not following Mr. Blake's lead here. Mr. Blake's very argument may be neatly turned against himself. Mr. Sonneck, in letters to me dated October 18 and 27, 1913, does this in the following manner:

"Mr. Blake is correct in stating that in my transcript of the title of Smith's 'Fifth Book' there is an error. It should be 'author of the favorite glees . . . Hark the hollow woods, etc. the Anacreontic, and other popular songs,' and not 'woods, etc. The Anacreontic . . .' (the printer did not follow copy but followed office rules in using a capital letter after a period sign, and when reading proof under pressure of other business I overlooked the error). Mr. Blake waxes enthusiastic over this discovery, claiming that Smith by using the lower case letter in 'the,' included 'the Anacreontic' among his aforesaid *glees* composed by him and not among his 'popular songs.' Therefore, as

Having identified thus the volume whose copyright was discovered by Mr. Blake, we have arrived at a point where three observations may well be made on the account which Mr. Sonneck gives us in his *Report*. First of all, we notice the critical care displayed by him in not committing himself to any inference wider than his premises—namely, the assertions made by prominent musical antiquaries—and his avoidance of partisanship where their statements assert boldly, moderately, or hesitatingly. Secondly, we notice his cautious attitude towards the prevailing ascription of the tune to Smith—a fact of importance to remember, in view of the tone of Dr. Flood's article. Thirdly, we notice the dates between which (1780 to 1790) Mr. Sonneck would place the publication of Smith's Fifth Book, etc. Mr. Blake's long search has since resulted in finding the exact date, 1799. Dr. Flood, indebted (like everyone else) to Mr. Blake for this information, assails "Chappell and his copyists" for an attempt to "bolster up" Smith's claim to the authorship of the tune by assigning the date of the publication of the Fifth Book, etc., as "1780 or 1785". And yet Dr. Flood had himself assigned, in the year 1909, the date of publication of this Fifth Book as "1781". If any stones are to be thrown, assuredly those who throw them should not live in glass houses. However, it was wholly unnecessary to throw any stones at all.

'To Anacreon in Heaven' first appeared as a song, not as a glee. Smith himself did not claim to have composed it, etc. All nonsense, of course, but it is this kind of nonsense which one has to combat. The very fact, it seems to me, that the title reads 'etc. the' shows that 'the Anacreontic' belongs grammatically to 'and other popular songs' and that 'the Anacreontic' was meant as a 'song;' and the word 'other,' it further seems to me, compels this interpretation. And again Mr. Blake breaks down under his own information, because, as if the Registrar wished to make the point raised by me above, perfectly clear, he transcribed Smith's copyright certificate for Mr. Blake as follows: 'the Hollow Woods, etc., The Anacreontic, and other popular songs.'"

Where one has not exact information, one is compelled to figure as closely as he may from what are currently esteemed the probabilities in the case.

2. SMITH ARRANGED THE AIR AS A GLEE.

Continuing the narrative of Blake's discoveries, Dr. Flood writes in the *Ave Maria*:

He also found indisputable evidence that Smith merely *arranged* the tune in the form of a "glee," and that he did not claim any copyright for the tune.

The "indisputable evidence" seems to have been the fact that Smith, in his *Fifth Book of Canzonets* (copyrighted May 8, 1799), writes that the tune was "harmonized by the Author". What does "Author" mean here? Does it mean the author (that is, the compiler and editor) of the *Fifth Book*, namely, Smith; or does it mean the author (that is, the composer) of the tune? Blake contends that "author" can not mean "composer". He tells us in his pamphlet that he had sent his discovery to Mr. Kidson, the noted English musical antiquary, who replied that he could not see how the phrase "harmonized by the Author" invalidated the view that Smith might have composed the air some years before he published it. However this may be, the incident seems to me to throw some light on Dr. Flood's assertion that Chappell and his copyists had sought to "bolster up" Smith's claim by assigning a date for the *Fifth Book* as "1780 or 1785". If one tries to bolster up a weak claim by assigning an untrue date, one is properly liable to the charge of practising deceit. Can this be fairly said of Chappell, when, in a letter dated October 23, 1910, a present-day antiquary of the eminence of Mr. Kidson can still find ambiguity in the word "author"?

A reader who is not well versed in the literature of the present discussion might perhaps suppose that Mr. Blake

had "discovered" in Smith's *Fifth Book* the phrase "harmonized by the Author" in reference to the song "To Anacreon in Heaven". Not only was the phrase and its relation to the song well-known long since, but a facsimile of the page (in the *Fifth Book*) containing that phrase appeared in Mr. Sonneck's *Report* in 1909.

Again, Smith does not refer to his arrangement of "Anacreon" as a "glee". It is not wrong so to characterize his composition; but he himself did not so characterize it. He called it "Anacreontick Song".

As will be seen further on, the copyright certificate appears to establish the meaning of "author" to be nothing less than "composer". He was the author (composer) of the "whole" work, the tune of the Anacreontic Song included.

Where, then, is the "indisputable evidence" that Smith "merely arranged the tune in the form of a 'glee'"?

3. SMITH "NEVER CLAIMED THE TUNE AS HIS".

The remaining argument against Smith's authorship of the tune is stated by Dr. Flood in the *Ave Maria* as follows:

Smith lived till the year 1836, and he never asserted his claim as composer of his melody, although Key had written "The Star-Spangled Banner" to it in 1814. Surely it stands to reason that if Smith had composed the tune, and that the said tune (whether set to "Anacreon in Heaven" and the "Star-Spangled Banner") had been sung, printed, and circulated all over the British possessions and in America, he would, as a true Britisher, have asserted his claim to it.

Here much is made of Smith's failure to lay claim to the authorship of the tune. In his *Fifth Book of Canzonets*, etc., Smith did declare that the tune there given was "harmonized by the Author". Blake (and, following his lead,

Flood) can see in this declaration only a confession that Smith was not the author of the tune, but merely the author of the collection; and that, if Smith desired to vindicate his authorship of the tune, he should have used the word "composer" instead of "author". Mr. Kidson could not see the force of this contention.

In his *Report* Mr. Sonneck had already discussed (p. 23) this interesting question:

The words "harmonized by the author" may of course mean harmonized by the author of the collection and do not necessarily mean harmonized by the author of the air, but these words, together with the fact that the collection contains none but Smith's own glees, etc., and the wording of the title renders it probable that Smith refers to himself as the composer of the music. . . . Probably Smith composed it, if he really did compose the tune, as a song for one voice, and in "harmonizing" it for several and different voices he felt obliged to wander away from the original.

This brief extract from the *Report* shows us that Mr. Sonneck (a) held his judgment in suspense as to the meaning of "author", and (b) had not committed himself—"if he really did compose the tune" are his words)—to the common ascription of the air to Smith. But here it is highly interesting to note with what felicity he is able to make use of the copyright certificate subsequently given to Mr. Blake by the Registrar of Stationers' Hall records, to emphasize (almost, if not indeed quite, to the point of conviction) the contention that Smith really did mean by the word "author" nothing less than "composer". This interesting argument is thus stated in Mr. Sonneck's letters to me (18 and 27 October, 1913):

Now the copyright record, as quoted with great glee but little understanding by Mr. Blake, distinctly says under "Property of": "Author," and under "Share": "Whole." Conse-

quently, if copyright certificates have any evidential value at all, Smith was officially recorded as claiming the copyright in the whole "Fifth Book" as "Author" (i. e. composer, because to my knowledge *author* was the official term used in the statute for all copyrightable matter, including musical works, and not *composer*, and author can mean in this instance and under the circumstances composer only and nothing else, since Smith does not pose as *compiler* of the music, much less as *author* of the texts; in several instances he mentions the authors of the texts). *Ergo*, if his words on p. 33: "The Anacreontick *Song* (sic! poor Mr. Blake) harmonized by the author" could leave the doubt expressed on p. 23 of my "Report" as to what Smith meant by these words, these words in conjunction with Smith's copyright certificate now would appear to establish, beyond reasonable doubt, that Smith *claimed* to be the author (composer) of "The Anacreontick Song": "To Anacreon in Heaven," "harmonized" by him in this "Fifth Book" as a part-song, and designated a *glee* by me in my "Report" (but not by Smith himself!).

And this (it seems to me) inevitable conclusion stops up the keyhole, which Mr. Blake cannot keep open for escape, that there is in Smith's Miscellaneous Collection of 1780, on p. 35, a four-part piece headed simply "Anacreontic." In the Index it is called, "Is it summer . . . GLEE." Thereby Mr. Blake, or anybody else, is enjoined from operating with the over-nice distinction between "song" and "glee" (i. e., only when it suits their purpose). They cannot say that Smith, in the title-page of his "Fifth Book," referred to this "glee" as the *popular* Anacreontic *song* composed by him and not to "Anacreon in Heaven." No, the title-page apparently refers to "Anacreon in Heaven," and to this *Anacreontick Song* in a *harmonized* version Smith laid copyright claim on May 8, 1799, as author (composer).

Perhaps he lied; but it is up to our friends Blake and Grattan Flood to prove that he lied. Until they produce proof of fraudulent claim, Smith's *claim* at least will stand good in any court of scientific inquiry, and I cannot see how, under the circumstances, we can deny that Smith composed "To

Anacreon in Heaven," unless a prior authenticated claim by some other composer is produced.

And with Smith's own copyright claim collapses the silly argument that, if Smith had been the composer, he would have taken pains to tell the world that he was the composer. Well, he did, on May 8, 1799, and that is all there is to this phase of the matter at present, so far as I can see.

I have said that Mr. Sonneck's argument emphasizes the contention that Smith "claimed" the tune, and emphasizes it "almost—if not indeed quite—to the point of conviction". One may still hesitate (and therefore I use the word "almost") to accept Smith's claim to authorship because of its apparent tardiness: for the tune was most popular before 1799, and had been printed (as already shown in this article) in many collections, and had not had Smith's name attached to it. Stewart's Vocal Magazine (1797) gives (against the usual custom of the time) the names of some of the tune-composers, but does not mention Smith's name in connection with "To Anacreon in Heaven". Why had not Smith "claimed" it much sooner than the year 1799?

The answer to this difficulty may, I think, take the form of an illustration. Father Clarence Walworth published, in 1853, his translation ("Holy God, we praise Thy name") of the Te Deum, in a Redemptorist "Mission Book", without, I think, attaching his name to it. Certainly, he compiled and edited that book, and its title-page does not bear his name. The hymn attained a very widespread use, and was sung both by Catholics and by Protestants. Nevertheless, it appears that he did not "claim" it as his composition until the year 1888—thirty-five years afterwards—the year, namely, in which he published his collected poems, *Andiatoroctè*, etc. (London and New York). In a recent letter to me his niece (who in 1888 acted as his amanuensis) recalls that Father Walworth then said to her: "You see I

put in my Te Deum. So many Protestants sing it and have it in their hymn books, the people think it is their hymn. I'll claim it back." (See *Ecclesiastical Review*, August, 1913, p. 134). Had he died before issuing his *Andia-toroctè*—and by the usual allotment of years to man he might easily have done so, as he was then sixty-eight years old—the mystery of the authorship might not have been a very easy one to solve at the present time. More remarkable still is the fact that in the *Life Sketches of Father Walworth, 1820-1900*, a volume of more than 300 pages published by his niece in 1907, while mention is made of his "Te Deum", nowhere, I believe, is the exact title given. Now, there were in his day many translations of the "Te Deum" into English verse, just as in Smith's day there were many "Anacreontics" (Smith himself certainly claiming one of these in his 1780 publication, and apparently claiming another in his copyrighted work of 1799).

There is another parallel feature in the case of Smith's tune and Walworth's hymn. Both had appeared in various publications previously to the formal claim of authorship. It was not a rule in the eighteenth century, for musical collections to give the names of those who composed the tune; but Stewart's Vocal Magazine, 1797, gives the composers of many of the tunes, in a separate index, but does not credit "Anacreon" to Smith. Similarly, it is not the custom of our Catholic hymnals to give the names of the authors of the words. I have nevertheless found several hymn books which give some of these names, and yet do not give the name of Walworth in connection with his translation of the Te Deum which they use. His authorship is certain, and the silence of these hymnals must be explained on some other basis than that of a doubt as to his authorship. The editors simply may not have known ("pure ignorance, Madam", as Dr. Johnston explained to the lady who wondered why he had defined "pastern" as

"the knee of a horse" in his Dictionary), although they lived in the very years in which Walworth lived. Music publishers in the eighteenth century may simply have "clipped" from other publications, just as hymnal editors do at this day, often without bothering in any nice way about the authorship of words or tune—or even about the copyright of either.

Now it is a curious fact that *one* hymnal published during the life of Father Walworth *did* credit him with the authorship of the words (the only one I am aware of that did so, although I have examined many). It is a yet more curious fact that this one hymnal was not a Catholic one, but an *Evangelical Hymnal* (ed. by Hall and Lasar, N. Y., 1880). It correctly credits the words to Walworth, and also gives the date of 1853. I think that if, in what Bacon calls "the wreck of time", this hymnal had disappeared and Father Walworth had not lived to bring out his volume of poems, we should not find it an easy matter to settle at this late day the question of authorship. "Late day"—but thirteen years after his death!

This leads me to the question: What may not "the wreck of time" have accomplished for eighteenth-century literature? The record stands that in 1799 Smith described the air in the Fifth Book as "harmonized by the Author". That we cannot find a previous claim of "authorship" by Smith does not of itself invalidate the interpretation of "author" in the sense of "composer". One cannot prove a negative, it is true; but, on the other hand, one may not too roundly assert a universal positive. Much of the musical literature of that day may have perished; and of what remains, not everything is known (Mr. Blake's labor has shown us). Dr. Flood himself had not taken the trouble—although living within a reasonable distance of London—to verify the date of copyright of the famous *Fifth Book*,

etc. It was reserved for an American laboriously to look up the records and to fix that date with certainty. Mr. Blake contributed much to the simple facts of the situation by doing so; and, whether or not we wish to accept his inferences, he has the credit of careful search on this one point—a point of much importance in the discussion.

One must not be over-positive in implying or stating a negative. An illustration may be given here. It is less than twenty years ago that Mr. J. Fairfax McLaughlin wrote in the *American Art Journal* (v. 68, 194-5, 1896): "In the 'Vocal Companion', published at Philadelphia in 1796 by Matthew Carey, the words and music of the [Anacreontic] song were first printed. The name of the author was not given. I challenge any man to point out its publication in England prior to that date." A writer in the (London) *Musical Times* (1 August, 1896) immediately referred Mr. McLaughlin (p. 518) to the *Vocal Magazine*, etc., issued in London in 1778. In another place in his article, Mr. McLaughlin said: "More than a quarter of a century after it had been published and re-published in the United States, 'The Universal Songster', published at London from 1825 to 1834, printed the song 'To Anacreon in Heaven' for the first time that I have been able, after a rather exhaustive search, to discover its publication in Great Britain, and gave the name of Ralph Tomlinson as its author." And again: "The words of the ballad indicate that it was written for a Bacchanalian club, but where the club flourished or when it was established are vexed questions which the most indefatigable research has never been able to solve." This was written in 1896; but the questions had been pertinently discussed and answered as far back as 1873 by William Chappell in *Notes and Queries*. Much of the literature of the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth century has been brought to

light; and one may fairly surmise that not a little work may still be done in this field.¹

If, however, Dr. Flood implies that Smith should have laid any *legal* claim to the tune, in view of its wide use in Ireland, Scotland and America, we have only to recollect that the English copyright law then in existence did not extend to Ireland until after the Act of Union in 1800; that English copyrighted books were freely published in Dublin and sometimes, to the great annoyance of English publishers, were carried into England; and that in the American colonies, the Revolution removed publishers from all liability to English law, whether statute or common, and that, indeed, the British colonies were not under the operation of the English copyright law. If Smith had copyright, he could vindicate it nowhere save in Great Britain; and, as might easily have been the case, had he transferred his common-law right to the publisher of some "collection" of music, his name would not appear in the records of Sta-

¹I do not think this an absurd suggestion; for the fate that sometimes overtakes even special—and therefore peculiarly valuable—collections of a bibliophile or antiquary is illustrated in the very case of Smith himself. His sole heir becoming insane, his great library was sold by an auctioneer who had no knowledge of its value. Mr. W. H. Husk, the librarian of the Sacred Harmonic Society, writes thus in *Grove's Dictionary*: "It was sold April 24, 1844, such books as were described at all being catalogued from the backs and heaped together in lots, each containing a dozen or more works; 2191 volumes were thrown into lots described as 'Fifty books, various,' etc. The printed music was similarly dealt with; the MSS. were not even described as such, but were lumped in lots of twenties and fifties, and called so many 'volumes of music.' The sale took place at an out-of-the-way place in the Gray's Inn Road; Smith's name did not appear on the catalogue; nothing was done to attract the attention of the musical world, and two dealers, who had obtained information of the sale, purchased many of the lots at very low prices. These after a time were brought into the market, but it is feared the greater part of the MSS. are altogether lost." As I have said, Cicero's *injuria temporis*, Bacon's "wreck of time," will serve to account for the many *lacunae* in the pathway of the historical investigator!

tioners' Hall. The words of "To Anacreon in Heaven", sung perhaps in 1770-1771, very evidently were fitted to the peculiar rhythm which we find in the tune. It is probable, at least, that text and tune went hand in hand, even at that date. It is certain that both text and tune soon became popular. It is therefore to be wondered at that *The Anacreontic Songs for 1, 2, 3 & 4 voices composed and selected by Dr. Arnold and dedicated to the Anacreontic Society* (London, J. Bland, 1785) did not include "To Anacreon in Heaven". Why not? The song was the constitutional song of the Society, the volume was dedicated to the Society, and the songs it included were—some of them—selected. Apparently, some copyright law forbade the inclusion of the tune. If, at that early day, nobody "claimed" it, it seems hard to explain why, of all the songs open to Dr. Arnold for inclusion, it should have been passed over in silence.

In this connection it occurs to me that the operation of the first copyright law passed in England might throw some light on the date of copyright of Smith's *Fifth Book*, etc. It is not unlikely that 1770-1771 offers us the date of the union of text and tune. We find Smith including text and tune (the latter "harmonized by the Author"—whatever that may mean) just *twenty-eight years* later, that is, in 1799. Now, by the Copyright Act of 1709, an author obtained copyright for fourteen years, and after this time had elapsed, had another right for a subsequent fourteen years. The total was therefore just *twenty-eight years*. In subsequent (1814) legislation, these two terms of fourteen years each became a single term of twenty-eight years. Had Smith written his tune in 1770-1771, his right to it could not survive the year 1799; and it is quite permissible to suppose that he was ready, in that year, with an arrangement of the tune as a *glee*, so that a new term of copyright might be granted him. Of course, it is also quite permis-

sible to suppose that some one else had composed and copyrighted the tune, and that Smith was ready to pounce upon the tune as fit matter for a glee and a new copyright for himself. He had the legal right to do so. This supposition, however, would perhaps degrade Smith not merely to the rank of a "fourth-rate musician" (as Dr. Flood styles him) but—what is much worse—to the rank of a second-rate gentleman also. We may assume that Smith was a gentleman; but we do not have to deny that he was a "fourth-rate musician", for the record of his musical honors speaks for itself.¹

Finally, if no copyright had protected the publisher of the tune, it is not easy to surmise why Smith should have waited for his *Fifth Book* to include so popular a melody.

Smith's "Audacity".

I do not know with what intent Dr. Flood introduces his remark concerning the "audacity" of Smith, in the fol-

¹Born in 1750, he received his first musical instruction from his father (organist of Gloucester Cathedral from 1743 to 1782); later studied under Dr. Boyce, the eminent composer and musician, in London; was a chorister of the Chapel Royal and "became an able organist, an efficient tenor singer, an excellent composer, and an accomplished musical antiquary;" in 1773, at the age of 23, he was awarded two prizes by the Catch Club, for a catch and a canon; gained prizes in 1774 for a glee, in 1775 for a catch and a glee, in 1776 for a glee, in 1777 for a glee; assisted Sir John Hawkins greatly in his *History* both by reducing ancient compositions to modern notation and by loaning "valuable early MSS, from his extensive and curious library;" published in 1779 *A Collection of English Songs*, etc., composed about the year 1500; in 1780 won another prize from the Catch Club; "published at various times five collections of glees, containing compositions which place him in the foremost rank of English glee composers;" published a collection of songs, and "Twelve Chants" for choirs; in 1784 was appointed a gentleman of the Chapel Royal and, in 1785, a lay vicar of Westminster Abbey; in 1790 was engaged as organist for the Gloucester Festival; in 1802 became an organist of the Chapel Royal; in 1812 produced *Musica Antiqua*, a collection of music from the 12th to the 18th century; wrote an *Introduction to the Art of Composing Music*; died in 1836. [Condensed from Grove's Dictionary].

lowing paragraph; but I may fairly conjecture that the purpose was to impugn Smith's trustworthiness when, in 1799, he claimed that the air of "Anacreon" was "harmonized by the Author". This conjecture is not, indeed, very logical, because Mr. Blake and, following him, Dr. Flood contend that by "author" Smith did *not* mean "composer". The major part of Mr. Blake's and Dr. Flood's argument turns on *this* (to their minds *obvious*) interpretation of "author"; and accordingly both should most earnestly affirm the absolute trustworthiness of Smith. That Smith's veracity should be impeached (and, of all men, by the two consentient interpreters of Smith's own words) is not, of course, a logical thing; but I am at a loss how else to interpret Dr. Flood's indignation at Smith's "audacity". But now to his impeachment of Smith:

An examination of Smith's *Fifth Book of Canzonets* reveals not only the interesting fact that this fourth-rate musician merely *arranged* the long-existing melody of "Anacreon," but he also arranged, in a different volume, another Anacreontic song, and likewise "God Save the King!" and had the audacity to assert that "the whole was *composed* by John Stafford Smith about the year 1780." (The italics are Dr. Flood's.)

The hastily-written English of this paragraph might easily mislead the reader. It is not an examination of Smith's Fifth Book which will reveal to us his composition of "another Anacreontic song, and likewise 'God Save the King!' . . .", etc. These things were revealed to Mr. Blake when he came across the 1780 volume of Smith's in an old-book shop in London.

But once more to our sheep. Dr. Flood marvels at the audacity of Smith in declaring that he had composed the whole of a volume containing "God Save the King!" Readers who are not familiar with the long controversies waged about the text and tune of the British national an-

them will fail to realize fully the enormous audacity of Smith in claiming that air as his own composition. Here are some facts concerning that anthem.

To place the following facts in proper perspective to Smith's audacity, it is necessary to recall that Dr. Flood accepts the common view that Smith was born in the year 1750. Now the anthem in question was first printed in *Harmonia Anglicana* (1743 or 1744, probably) and shortly afterwards in *Thesaurus Musicus* (a reprint, revised, of the former work). In 1745 it was sung in Drury Lane Theatre and was received with "tumultuous applause, and the example of Drury Lane was soon followed by Goodman's Fields and Covent Garden" (Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 2nd ed., 1907). A month later the words and music appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and about the same time in a new edition of the *Thesaurus Musicus*. "The air now rapidly increased in popularity" (Julian's *Dictionary*)—and therefore must have been universally known by the time (1750) when Smith was born. The *Historical Edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1909) further assures us that "in the second half of the eighteenth century it became popular in France, Germany, and Denmark." That is, the tune must have traveled even to the continent about the time that Smith (in 1780) declared it his own composition. He was then a man of thirty years of age, and innumerable people must be then living who had heard the anthem sung in the London theatres before Smith was born, and have read it in the popular *Gentleman's Magazine*, or have played it from the musical collections, all of these publications having appeared before Smith was born.

Had Smith, then, declared that he was the composer of an air which so many people could testify that they had heard sung or had seen in print before he was born, his act would not have been one of "audacity", but rather one of

the greatest foolhardiness possible to mortal man. With about equal foolishness might the present writer claim to have composed the "Star-Spangled Banner".

Dr. Flood could not but know that the anthem was popular before Smith was born; and it is indeed because of this knowledge that he charges Smith with "audacity". I am not enough of a psychologist to explain how, under these circumstances, Dr. Flood could have considered Smith's act "audacious" rather than idiotic. He must (I presume) have "complacently followed" Mr. Blake down the rushing tide of the latter's mistaken enthusiasm. For Mr. Blake had discovered Smith's volume published in 1780, in an old bookshop in London; had purchased it for eighty cents (although, as he remarks, he would gladly have given eight dollars, and adds—jocularly, I suppose—that he would sell it to Congress for eight hundred dollars); had found "God Save the King" in it; had read on the title-page that Smith composed the "whole" of the volume; and had been properly scandalized at such incomprehensible audacity. But Mr. Blake was not a musician; he was an inventor of a device for rifles, and his invention was adopted (so the biographical note affixed to the binding of his pamphlet tells us) by the United States in the Spanish-American War. That Dr. Flood should have "complacently followed" Mr. Blake is the truly wonderful thing; for Dr. Flood is a musician, as well as a historian of music, and should immediately have suspected that something was "out of gear" in Mr. Blake's views concerning Smith's claim to the authorship of the British national anthem. A few moments' inspection of the volume itself would have enlightened him as to the exact claim of Smith, but—he followed Mr. Blake, whose offer to sell the book to Congress was quite superfluous, for Congress possesses both the 1780 volume and that of 1799.

What, then, is the explanation of the mystery of Smith's audacity? In his letters to me of 18 and 27 October, Mr. Sonneck tells simply and clearly what it really was that Smith laid claim to as composer:

Blake refers to the words, "the whole compos'd by John Stafford Smith," on the title-page of his "A Miscellaneous Collection of New Songs, Catches, and Glees," London, James Blundell (published, as the contents prove, in the year 1780), and deduces his imputation that Smith fraudulently claimed with the above words to have been the composer of "God Save the King" from the fact that on p. 27 "God Save the King" appears in "A Canon in Subdiapente; 2 in 1 on a plain Song." Mr. Blake, who is not by profession a musician or historian, breaks down under his own argument by quoting Smith's Index, in which this particular piece appears as "Si Deus pro nobis . . . Canon . . . 27." The puzzle is simple enough for a musician: "Si Deus pro nobis" are the words put to the "Canon in Subdiapente; 2 in 1," and the "plain song," or "cantus firmus," as we would say nowadays, on which Smith composed his canon was the melody of "God Save Great George our King," duly printed with these words. . . . Dear old Smith's Index shows to what he laid claims as "composer" of "the whole": the canon (as was correct) and nothing more.

And so we leave Smith's audacity behind us and proceed to fresh woods and pastures new.

Altogether, it may readily be admitted that the argument for the ascription of the tune to Smith is not a weak one. We can now take the next step, and consider the probable provenance of the words.

4. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE WORDS.

Assuming that Blake's proofs have quite demolished the common ascription of the tune to John Stafford Smith, the question of the authorship would remain an open one, with the probabilities, nevertheless, remaining in favor of an

English origin in view of the use of the song by the English Anacreontic Society—unless, indeed, we should find that the words of the Anacreontic Song were not of English origin. Dr. Flood properly addresses himself next to this question:

First, let me note that the words of the Anacreontic song, now replaced by the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner," are of Irish origin, and evidently emanated from Ireland about the year 1765. They were slightly altered in 1770; and, as such, were printed in 1778, while some further alterations were made in the version published in 1781. The ascription of the song to "Ralph Tomlinson, Esq.," is based solely on the fact that it was sung by that gentleman as president of the Anacreontic Club in London about the year 1771.

This statement is so replete with dates that a reader is almost bewildered by the exactness of the details. However, all the dates may be passed over except the first date—and the most important of all—given by Dr. Flood as 1765 (or, rather, as "about" 1765). This date is so very important that, despite the vagueness of the additional and qualifying word "about", we are forced to pause and examine it closely. If, about the year 1765, the words of the Anacreontic Song emanated from Ireland, then we must, indeed, relinquish the legend ascribing their composition to Ralph Tomlinson, whose connection with the song dates back only (and only with some probability) to 1770 or 1771.

Now, Dr. Flood asserts this important date of 1765, but does not offer a scintilla of evidence on a point of capital importance for his argument. He declared that the words of the song "evidently emanated from Ireland", but offers no evidence of the emanation, or of his reason for conjecturing that the emanation took place "about" the year 1765. It is needless to say that, in an argument such as he is carrying on against an almost universal conviction of

learned investigators, something more plausible than an unsupported assertion should be offered by him to the world of interested scholars.

Is it not possible that in writing the date "1765" Dr. Flood may be relying merely on his memory? We ask the question, for the reason that Mr. Blake acknowledges having received from Dr. Flood some information about the publication, by E. Rhames, at Dublin, of a song "To Anacreon in Heaven". Mr. Blake accepted the date of publication as being between the years 1775 and 1790; and the song may have been printed in Dublin as early as 1775. Now, "1775" sounds very like "1765". It is true that there are only ten years between the dates in point of time—but there are untold aeons between the dates in point of argumentative value. If the words were known in Ireland, and emanated thence "about 1765", then Tomlinson's claim to their authorship falls to the ground; but if "1765" should have been written "1775", then Tomlinson's name is the first, associated, so far as we now know, with the words.

Appropos of Dr. Flood's rejection of Tomlinson's claim and the reason usually given for the ascription to him, I may quote from a letter I have received from Mr. James Warrington, the noted hymnologist and musical antiquary: "As to the words, there is no doubt they were written by Ralph Tomlinson. . . . His name is on the title-page of the copy which Dr. Cummings dates 1770 or 1771. Dr. Cummings sent me a copy of this title some years ago, and I regret that I cannot just now lay my hands on the correspondence."

Thus far, we cannot consider the elimination of the English claim to words and tune a completed piece of work. But at this point Dr. Flood begins his positive proof of the Irish origin of the tune.

H. T. HENRY.

AMBROSE PARÉ, FATHER OF MODERN SURGERY

DR. EDWARD A. MALLON

BEFORE discussing the question, if any people of intelligence continue to account it an open question: "Was Ambrose Paré Catholic or Huguenot," we will present a brief outline of his eventful career.

He was born in the early part of the sixteenth century, in the village of Bourg-Hersent, vicinity of Laval in Maine. The older biographies dated his birth in 1510; the weight of revised research favors the year 1517, beyond serious contradiction. In either case, Paré lived in a cycle of momentous history for his time and ours; contemporary that he was with the outbreak and process of that political, religious and social disruption which is conventionally styled the "Reformation." In France, Paré's life coincided with no fewer than seven reigns; to wit, of Kings Louis XII, Francis I, Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, Henry III and Henry IV. Among their foreign compeers, suffice it to recall the Emperor Charles V, and Philip II of Spain, Henry VIII and Edward VI, Mary Tudor and Queen Elizabeth of England.

Very little is known of Paré's youthful years; he is believed to have studied elementary Latin with Monsieur d'Orsay, chaplain to a gentleman near Laval, and later he was apprenticed to Master Vialot, barber-surgeon in Laval. About this point in his career, there came down from Paris the lithotomist Laurence Colot, to perform an operation on a confrère of the chaplain's; and then it was that Ambrose, assisting at the operation, felt stimulated to study surgery for good. For that matter, his brother Jean was a master barber-surgeon at Vitré in

Brittany; and their sister Catharine was married to Gaspard Martin, a master barber-surgeon of Paris. From a datum in his own writings, we learn that Ambrose was at Angers in 1525. In 1533, he was in Paris, which already resplendent capital then contained some 150,000 inhabitants. Ere long it was Paré's good fortune to become resident surgeon at the Hôtel-Dieu, right venerable and famous hospital, founded in A. D. 660 by Saint Landry, Archbishop of Paris, and enlarged in the Thirteenth Century by Saint Louis. Hôtel-Dieu was served by clerical attendants; the list of them for this period including 30 Brothers, 25 Sisters, 4 Priests, and 4 Clerks in Holy Orders. The hospital was used in the way of teaching medicine, as early as 1505. Paré spent three years [in study at Hôtel-Dieu, where Sylvius was then teaching anatomy, and also providing opportunities of original research in connection with his own investigations. More than four hundred students frequented his lectures. Paré, during his triennium at Hôtel-Dieu, had charge of patients, the privilege of making dissections and *post mortem* examinations, besides the advantages accruing from teaching students and from practice in external clinics. There is record that in a particular winter he operated on four cases of the loss of the nose from frost-bite. During 1533-1536, Paris was visited with the plague; and be it noted in passing coincidence that 1536 marks the era of John Calvin's removal from Paris by voluntary logic of his heresy: or was this, too, but an implicated accident under the logic of predestination?

In the same year 1536, Paré associated himself as surgeon with the command of an infantry officer in the army of Francis I; and after the capture of Turin, he returned to Paris, in 1539. To serve as army surgeon meant a great opportunity for the study and practice of surgical

science; what though there was no recognized medical service to the army in those times. A number of barber surgeons, qualified or not, accompanied or followed the army, together with women skilled in bandaging or dressing wounds. The more distinguished of the barber surgeons were attached to the commanders and feudal *seigneurs*. Paré himself held no recognized position in the army, no rank in camp; he was paid by the operation, and received no fixed salary. It was during this his first campaign that he discontinued the use of boiling oil of elders, with a little treacle, as treatment for gunshot wounds. He substituted a mixture of the yolk of eggs, oil of roses and turpentine; which he found to cause less swelling, pain and fever. On returning to Paris in 1539, and at the suggestion of Sylvius, he began writing his book on gunshot wounds. In 1541, he qualified as master barber-surgeon. The barber-surgeons were a body of appreciable antiquity, having at their head the King's chief barber-surgeon. Their devotional centre was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in rue St. Denis; and their corporate patrons were Saints Cosmas and Damian. The members took, or renewed, their oath annually on St. Luke's Day. Paré was also married in 1541, and the contract is recorded between Ambrose Paré and Jehanne Mazelin, servant of the Chancellor of France (Antoine Duprat, Archbishop of Sens, and Cardinal). A passage in the contract reads: "for the marriage which at God's pleasure will soon be made and solemnized before Holy Church, of the said Ambrose Paré and Jehanne Mazelin." The dower was paid on July 16, 1541, and in receipt for the money Jehanne is called "*sa fiancée en Sainte Église*," his affianced spouse in Holy Church.

In 1542, Paré re-enlisted as surgeon to the army of Francis I; and in the next ensuing years we note him

back and forth, now with the army, now in Paris. Once he was on the northern coast with the forces under Rohan against the English; anon, in Brittany; later, on the Gulf of Lyons against the Spaniards; then back at Boulogne, in 1545, against the English. A son was born to Ambrose and Jehanne at this period; and a record of the baptism was preserved in the register of their parish church, St. André-des-Arcs. During 1545 Paré published his book on gunshot wounds, which achievement gained him the rank of a doctor of surgery (College of St. Edmé). Of a certain remarkable recovery in this work, he piously adds that the patient survived "by the Grace of God."

During 1552 Paré was with the French army in the war against Germany, which ended shortly after the siege of Metz. That he was not constantly on the field appears from data in his writings: "The camp being dispersed I returned to Paris with my gentleman whose leg I cut off; I dressed him and God healed him." Here we have the literal text of Ambrose Paré's much-quoted motto, "*Je le pansay et Dieu le guarist.*" A variant of the motto occurs in connection with the siege of Metz, where Paré was smuggled into the city to care for the sick and wounded; for he writes of a certain patient: "I dressed him with the other surgeons, and God healed him; and to-day he is living, thank God."

Concerning Paré's Metz experience we are told that the Duke of Guise had advised the King: "I will hold out for ten months if need be; I have men, arms, and provisions; but my men are dying like flies, of disease and neglect. Send me Master Ambrose or I can answer for nothing." It appears that he was "smuggled" into the place through the connivance of an Italian captain. All regarded his advent as a blessing from heaven; and he was especially beloved by the soldiers for his humane

procedure. Paré himself relates: "God guided our work so well that we entered the town at midnight, thanks to a signal of the captain's with another captain, of the company of Monsieur de Guise." Again he relates: "The princes, *seigneurs*, captains, received me with great joy. . . . They were no more afraid of dying, if they should happen to be wounded."

It was Paré's art which saved the Duke of Guise from fatal consequence, as it would seem, at Boulogne, where the Duke was wounded by a lance which entered his skull just above the right eye, passing out by the back of the neck. Paré skillfully extricated the lance, and the Duke came off at the cost of that scar which gave him the popular nickname, *Le Balafré*, the "gashed" or "scarred."

As indicating the military education of those international wars, we have the detail that Paré's Italian captain at Metz "spoke excellent German, Spanish and Walloon, besides his mother tongue."

About this period Paré was appointed surgeon to Henry II. He was with the King in 1553, but afterwards returned to Paris and gave lectures on anatomy. During July, 1553, he was with the army at Hesdin, and fell a prisoner of war to the Duke of Savoy. In 1554 Paré was admitted to the Confraternity of St. Cosmas, which represented the surgeons; they were sometimes called the College of Surgeons. He owed this advancement to his practical work and experience, not to formalized erudition. Although he read his thesis to the Confraternity in Latin, he is not supposed to have acquired more than the rudiments of that language; but this by the way. For he was none the less quite solemnly received into the said Confraternity on occasion of the master's degree. The bachelor's degree he had received on August 27; the licentiate in October, whilst the master's degree was conferred on December 17.

St. Cosmas Confraternity had its origin in an edict of Louis IX (Saint Louis), who organized it in 1226. It thus began under Catholic auspices, in the Church of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, whose noble Gothic tower still stands in Paris (La Tour St. Jacques), near the junction of rue de Rivoli and Boulevard Sébastopol. St. Cosmas, of course, was the Confraternity's patron (in French, Saint-Cosme). Philip the Fair issued an edict in 1311 requiring aspirants to the Confraternity to pass an examination conducted by the President. One of those Presidents, Jean Pitard, went with St. Louis to the Crusades.

Be it recalled that when Paré received his master's degree, "there was a solemn function in the church; the faculty were duly represented; bishops, *seigneurs*, and other great people were present." Next day, he took the prescribed oath: "Ego, Ambrosius Paré chirurgus regius et juratus Parisiis, polliceor me sancte observaturum omnia collegii statuta, meque ante quadriennium non suscepturum jurisdictionis officium nisi a praedicto collegio dispensatum. Actum die XVIII Decembris, et anno Domini 1554. Teste meo signo hic affixo.

A. PARÉ."

For a datum apart, the first Huguenot church in Paris was founded in 1555; but the sole facts in Paré's career which have to do with church affairs, are absolutely and consistently Catholic facts.

We select salient items of his biography, in chronological sequence, from 1554 downwards.

1554-1557: Paré in Paris, hard at work; surgeon in ordinary to the King.

1557. Mary Tudor and Philip II declared war on France. Paré was at the battle of St. Quentin, August 10. He has now served a score of years as army surgeon.

1558. Paré once again in Paris.

1559, August 11: Baptism of Isaac, son of Ambrose Paré, surgeon in ordinary to the King, and of Jehanne Mazelin his wife. Baptism registered in parish church of St. André-des-Arcs.

1560, August 3: burial record of Isaac, same parish church.

1560, September 30: Baptism of Catharine, daughter of Ambrose and Jehanne Paré; same parish records.

1562. Huguenot or civil war broke out in France, lasting till Henry of Navarre espoused the Catholic faith. All that while, Paré was in the thick of the fighting, sometimes with the King, sometimes in Paris; notably, too, in Rouen, where he trepanned nine men in one day (1562). He was furthermore conspicuous at Dreux, Havre, and Bayonne in the far South of France; at the battles of St. Denis, 1567, and Moncontour, 1569. *Item*, 1569, we note him in Flanders. During these years of intermittent study and campaigning, he brought out various professional works.

1573, November 4: Died in her dwelling, rue de l'Arondelle, Jehanne Mazelin, wife of Ambrose Paré. Her body was interred in the parish church of St. André-des-Arcs.

1574, January 18: second marriage of Ambrose Paré, to Jacqueline Rousselet, at the church of St. Séverin, off Boulevard St. Michel.

1575, July 16: Baptism of Anne, daughter of Ambrose by his second wife. Godmother, Princess Anne Daistre, wife of the Duke of Savoy; godfather, Monseigneur Charles of Savoy, son of said Princess Anne.

Other baptismal and burial records, and one marriage record, all Catholic, are entered for the Paré family down to 1587.

1575: Paré published the first edition of his collected works in French, thereby incurring trouble with the Confraternity; but in 1582 he had his works translated into Latin.

1590. Henry of Navarre was besieging Catholic Paris with his Huguenot army. Paré was in the capital, bearing hunger and privation with the rest of the community; administering to the wounded and aiding his fellow Parisians. "To Catholic Paris, Henry of Navarre was a heretic, a traitor, and a murderer; they would die before they would open their gates to him." The siege lasted from May to September. Ambrose Paré died on December 20, 1590, and was buried in the church of St. André-des-Arcs, "at the foot of the nave, near the belfry."

To sum up the essential facts of a religious tenor in their due course, Ambrose Paré was born before the Protestant Reformation broke out; he spent his early young manhood in Catholic Paris, in a Catholic hospital; he was married in a Catholic church; his children were baptized in the same; his first wife was buried with Catholic rites; he married a second time in a Catholic church, and again his children were baptized in the same. During the religious wars he was always faithful to the Catholic party; his name does not appear in any connection with the Huguenot party. He received his master's degree in a Catholic church; he was finally buried in his own parish church: which fact alone, at an age when party feelings ran high on either side, sets a conclusive seal on his Catholicity.

Lest we should appear to state but the Catholic side of the case without reference at all to its more or less respectable contradiction by sundry imposing authorities, we will subjoin an assortment of current views, for and against, or the two confused.

Nouveau Larousse: "His body was bestowed in the church of St. André-des-Arcs; enough to show that he was not Protestant, as Brantôme wrote."

Stephen Paget (London 1897), in his *Ambroise Paré*: "I am convinced that he was never wholly Huguenot, and became almost wholly Catholic: not only for the sake of safety, but because he was loyal, quiet and conservative: a man who heartily disliked change. I believe he went to mass, he and Jehanne together, at Saint-André." (With all deference herein to the cited biographer, his argument that Master Ambrose abhorred mutation, seems not to be supported by the quickness of his second marriage, on a January 18 after Jehanne's decease on preceding 4 November, barely eleven weeks from funeral to nuptials. Or haply was Dame Jacqueline a close counterpart in her looks and ways to Jehanne?)

Malgaigne, in his Preface to *Paré's Works* (Volume III), which he edited and published in 1840: "It appears to me incontestable that at least after Saint Bartholomew's Day, Ambroise Paré made a profession of the Catholic faith. Was he even Catholic before this time? I think the latter opinion the true one."

Biographie Générale, Paris 1865, Vol. 39-40, p. 194, footnote 1: "M. Malgaigne, the last and most conscientious biographer of Paré . . . has endeavored to establish the fact that this great surgeon was not a Huguenot, as Brantôme declares; and he is in a position to speak with authority. He treats as fables the accounts that some historians have detailed of the manner in which Paré escaped death at the Massacre. As regards the solution of the question . . . it is sufficient to revert to Paré himself: is not his Catholicity the explanation of his escaping Catholic fanaticism at the siege of Rouen? The proof which Malgaigne avows in the Preface to Book III seems to decide the question finally."

Biographie Nouvelle adds the matter-of-fact clause, "his parish," in reference to his burial at St. André-des-Arcs.

Biographie Universelle (Michaud), in an article signed by Lucien Hahn, Librarian to the Paris Faculty of Medicine: "Mr. P. Valet has shown that he was really Catholic; witness his marriage at St. Séverin's and the fact that he stood as sponsor at St. André-des-Arcs."

Thomas, *Universal Dictionary of Biography*, calls him Huguenot. So do Blake, Chambers and Cooper. Last edition of *Britannica*, and *Brockhaus*, leave the religious issue untouched.

Catholic Encyclopedia supports Tal's conclusions unreservedly: "A Catholic throughout his life, Tal has given documentary refutation of the legend that Paré was a Huguenot and was spared during the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (1572) by direct command of the King."

Possibly, in view of so much reasonable authority against the Huguenot "fable," Dr. George Jackson Fisher's *Annals* (Brooklyn, 1880, Vol. II, No. 12) would not nowadays refer quite so sanguinely to "the earnest and devout old Huguenot, who ever ascribed all glory, power and praise to our Heavenly Father, claiming that he dressed the wounds and that God healed them." Or were Catholics in Paré's day still ignorant and unconscious of the article *doxology*, in Christian belief or practice? As though all the devout art and science of Catholic Christendom from the Apostles forward until

*Tuba mirum spargens sonum,
Per sepulchra regionum,
Coget omnes ante thronum,*

had stopped at anything *short* of glorifying God through the greatest or least of humanity's allotted gifts and trusts.

However, let us review the basic sources of the Protestant contention, which are chiefly Brantôme's gossip and Sully's anecdotes. Brantôme acknowledges that he was not an eye witness of the Massacre, on which occasion he happened to be detained in the siege of La Rochelle; whilst Sully's account, written about sixty years after the event, also differs from Brantôme's dramatic picture. Quoth Brantôme: "Kill! Kill! cried the King, and none would he spare save only Master Ambrose Paré, his first surgeon and the foremost in Christendom; so for him did he send, and had him come that evening to his room and wardrobe: bidding him not to budge, and neither did he urge him to change his religion, any more than his nurse, on that score." Sully, in turn: "Of all those who had access to this Prince, no man had so much of a share in his confidence as Ambrose Paré. This man, what though he was only the surgeon of the King, had come to be on such frank terms with him, Huguenot, at that, that this Prince having told him on the day of the Massacre, now was the time when everybody must turn Catholic, Paré composedly answered: 'By the light of God, Sire, I think you have not forgotten what you promised me, to wit, you would never bid me do these four things: return to my mother's womb, or miss a day of battle, or leave your service, or go to Mass.'" Both accounts resemble the category of hearsay and rumor; but at the utmost, they can scarcely cancel the consistent evidence of Paré's parish allegiance to St. André-des-Arcs, in the heart of Catholic Paris, and at a crisis in religion when passive evasion was out of the question: most of all in a man of public life and renown. Besides, the parochial administration of St. André's during the Huguenot strife is known to have been intensely alert for lapsed Catholics and Huguenot adherents among the surrounding deni-

zens. The Protestant arguments put forth by Monsieur Haag (*La France Protestante*) sound somewhat more plausible, namely, Paré's attitude of peace and forbearance with the "opposing camp;" his frequent Biblical citations according to the Huguenot version; and the circumstance that he choose the name Isaac for one of his children. That these are but surface reasons appears by the contrary fact that Isaac was baptized and buried strictly in the pale of the Church; and equally futile is the plea that Paré himself received Catholic burial because the Huguenots had no cemeteries. The Protestants had cemeteries of their own; and even where they had not, a Huguenot would not have been admitted for burial *in church*, but in a separated precinct, clearly distinguished from consecrated Catholic burial ground.

Tal has examined twenty-five authentic acts of parish registration, covering the life and affinities of Ambrose Paré without one loophole of exception to show that the Church either deemed or suspected him tainted with heresy and apostasy. Common sense cannot go meddling behind the returns of such genuine testimony; and the single pretext for discrediting these Catholic data, under the mask of policy or fear on the part of Paré to *reveal* his Huguenot "conversion," falls flat in the open book of his life and character. Timidity and politic dissembling lay far from his recorded mind or practices.

Against the proof of unimpeachable Church records, we have a contrary tissue of gossip and hearsay; let historians choose the deciding factor of common sense, and the question will settle itself at once and permanently.

LIFE OF BISHOP CONWELL

BY MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

CHAPTER V

REV. G. D. HOGAN'S CHARGES. HOGAN'S THIRD PAMPHLET. BISHOPS CHEVERUS AND ENGLAND.

About this time there publicly appeared, in the usual pamphlet form, the charges made by the Rev. George D. Hogan, and already noticed in our first chapter. Father George had been removed by the Bishop from Carlisle, and thus grew discontented. In such state of mind was he visited by the Rev. William Hogan, whom he accompanied on the return journey to Philadelphia, on or about January 10. Ten days later we find him at Conewago; and his letters intimate that he was alarmed by the trend of William's opposition to the Bishop: so much so that George resolved to master his personal feelings and submit to the Bishop's commands. Accordingly he wrote to the Bishop from Conewago, under date of January 20, betokening his willingness to conform to the episcopal directions, and asking advice "concerning the line of conduct I am to pursue relative to Mr. Hogan. . . . My suspicions have been fully realized when last in Philadelphia, by an explicit avowal of his sentiment . . . they are such as entitle me to pronounce him unworthy of confidence as a Catholic priest."

Hereto the Bishop replied on January 27. His advice on the line of conduct to be followed by Father George

is not very definite or clear; probably because he was not yet aware of the nature of the charges in question, or because he still adhered to his plan of avoiding scandal by saying as little as possible of Hogan's shortcomings, and by basing his action only on the article of disobedience. "If I knew," he said, "the worst things possible of the gentleman in question, it would ill become me to give them publicity to the injury of the clerical order."

Anyhow, Father George felt encouraged to tell his story to the Bishop. On February 2 he wrote that William had proposed to him to accompany him to the Protestant Episcopal Bishop Hobart of New York, and "to enter his service, and in a few years we might be able to lay by a comfortable provision for life." On February 11, William wrote to George that "Bishop Conwell is handing about a letter from you in which you mention that I intended to join Bishop Hobart. . . . I don't believe you wrote such a letter, as it would be false, or you misunderstood me. Write a letter which I can show the public, saying I only said, 'if my persecutors might drive any man to desperation.'" To this strange call to retract, George replied: "I merely stated what literally occurred between us in Lancaster and afterwards, in justifying me in believing you were no longer impressed with the principles and sentiments of a Catholic priest." This was sworn to, on February 24, and on March 21, George made oath at Lancaster that William had been suspended "about five years before by Bishop Tuohy of Limerick, and that William told him he intended to become a Protestant clergyman." He also stated that William's course of theology did not exceed ten months.

In reply to the Rev. George Hogan's charges, Mr. John Ashley published the following:

“As it appears very much of Mr. George Hogan's object, to impress the minds of the people with an idea, that he has seen in Rev. W. Hogan evident marks of dereliction from morality, and the Catholic faith, even before his departure from Ireland: I think I have only to mention his conversation in my family to confute him on this point. In June last, when he was in Philadelphia, on a visit for a few days, he was frequently at my house, and appeared extremely anxious to impress us all, with a most favorable opinion of Mr. W. Hogan's life and abilities. On one occasion he expressly declared that he could not love him with such unbounded affection, if he did not consider him the best and most perfect man breathing; all that afflicted him was being separated from him. This he said to the females of my family, whilst I was conversing with Mr. W. Hogan, and afterwards Mr. W. on the same evening, had to reprove him for speaking with so much bitterness of the conduct of the clergy in Philadelphia, by declaring he scandalized him, having no right to turn into ridicule, Messrs. Kenney and McGirr. He retorted that he found it impossible to suppress his indignation, when he saw such Yahoos put themselves in competition with him either as priests or gentlemen. I agreed with him in the high opinion he appeared to entertain for Mr. W. Hogan and my sentiments have never changed during a most intimate acquaintance of several months. In fact this conversation only confirmed the good impressions made on my mind by Mr. De Barth, who, previous to his departure for Conewago, the latter end of April last, took an opportunity of visiting me (though he had not been in my house for several months) to have the pleasure, as he then said, of introducing Mr. W. Hogan to my family. He mentioned to me particularly, what satisfaction Mr. W. H.'s arrival gave him, that he came highly recommended, as a

most excellent young man, 'bon prédicateur,' and hoped to give general satisfaction, by having appointed him Pastor of St. Mary's. I have every reason to believe Mr. W. Hogan only accepted Mr. De Barth's offer, and gave up his situation in Albany, a very lucrative one, he being there in receipt of \$1200 a year, upon the solemn assurance of Mr. De B., that he would in six months send Mr. McGirr away, and put Mr. George Hogan in his place. That this was Mr. McGirr's own impression, was evinced by his manner as he could hardly behave with common civility to Mr. G. H. during his stay in Philadelphia, as Mr. G. H. himself informed us.

Nearly a year has elapsed, since Mr. W. Hogan's first introduction into my family, and a day has seldom passed, in which we have not had the pleasure of seeing him, and that, in the most unreserved and friendly way. During this intimacy neither I, nor mine, in our constant intercourse with him have ever discovered anything to change our good opinion of him, but on the contrary, have always observed him to be a most correct and exemplary gentleman.

J. ASHLEY."

In answer to the Rev. George Hogan's charge that he had suggested that they should go over to Bishop Hobart, Hogan made the following announcement on April 11 :

To the members of St. Mary's Church :

It having been publickly stated, evidently, for the purpose of injuring my character as a Catholic Priest, that I had applied to the Rt. Rev. J. Hobart, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the state of New York, for a living in his diocess : I deem it my duty to lay before you the following communication, which I have had the honor of receiving from this respectable Prelate. The original may be seen on application to the chairman of your congregation.

WILLIAM HOGAN.

April 11, 1821.

New York, April 7th, 1821.

The Rev. Wm. Hogan never applied to me either directly or indirectly for admission to my diocese, neither have I had any conversation or correspondence with him, on this or any other subject.

JOHN HENRY HOBART,

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York.

This was published in Relf's Advertiser and Daily Gazette, April 11. It occasioned the following letter in the same paper, April 13:

To the Editor of the Philadelphia Gazette:

Sir: Being a Roman Catholic well acquainted with all the passing events in relation to St. Mary's Church, I cannot reconcile it to my Principles of honour and honesty to allow the public to be deceived by a captious advertisement in your Wednesday's paper, with a certificate bearing the signature of Bp. Hobart of New York, to testify that the Rev. William Hogan, had never applied to the said Rt. Rev. Dr. Hobart for a living in his diocese (as if he had been publicly charged with having done so, for the purpose of injuring his character). But he never was accused of having applied to Dr. Hobart: it was probably said however that the said Wm. Hogan signified his intention to his kinsman, a virtuous and worthy pastor of this diocese, of quitting the Catholic Church and offering his services to Dr. Hobart, as a Protestant preacher, and that he endeavoured by every possible argument to induce the said Rev. Gentleman to come along with him, and renounce the old religion, when they might have an opportunity of realizing a fortune in a few years; which appears more at large in a pamphlet called "Sundry Documents," to be had at B. Dornin's, No. 58 South 4th Street.

AN IMPARTIAL OBSERVER.

In March, Hogan had published a third pamphlet, in continuation of his two preceding ones. Therein he

relates that on March 26 he had sent this letter to Bishop Conwell (page 43):

Rt. Rev. Sir:

Our church differences have risen to such a height and have assumed a complexion so truly alarming that if you or I have any regard for our own salvation, or the interest of religion, we should mutually adopt some prudent measure to bring them to a termination, and thereby prevent the scandals which are rapidly increasing. I have proposed to your Lordship various modes of accommodating our unfortunate differences; but, unhappily, under the influence, I am sure, of bad advisers, you have uniformly rejected them. The terms, which from time to time, I proposed were, as I conceived, honorable in themselves, not derogatory to your dignified station; creditable to me, and advantageous to religion. But as I am sure, you must, ere now, question the intentions of your advisers, I beg leave to propose another plan of reconciliation, which, if my ideas of justice and fraternal charity, be correct, you will unhesitatingly approve of. Send for the Rt. Rev. Dr. England of Charleston, and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Chevereux of Boston, let a plain statement of facts and circumstances be laid before them and let you and me be bound to abide by their decision: if it appear to them after a fair examination, that all those charges which exist in and out of your conscience be true, let me abide by the consequence; and if on the contrary, I can prove that you have acted towards me in a manner not consonant with the laws of justice or the Church, you will, of course abide the result. Should these terms of settling our differences meet your approbation, let me know within the space of two hours, but if in the interim, you should think more time for consultation or deliberation necessary I shall await your pleasure.

I have the honor to be yours

WILLIAM HOGAN.

What notice, if any, Bishop Conwell took of this suggestion, does not appear. But the two designated Prel-

ates would seem to have learned of the matter through the pamphlet in which it was made public. And the following communication appeared in Relf's Gazette on April 12.

"In a late pamphlet published by the Rev. Wm. Hogan, we find that he orders the Rt. Rev. Dr. Conwell, to refer his case to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Chevereux of Boston, and Dr. England of Charleston.

We have just now received the following decision of the former prelate, which we lay before the public.

My Dear and Respected Lord:

Since (much to my surprise and regret) it has pleased the Rev. Wm. Hogan, to make use of my name in his last publication, it becomes my duty explicitly to declare, that I am persuaded that you had more than sufficient reasons for withdrawing his faculties. My only astonishment is that any one could countenance the writer of the "most abominable pamphlet that ever disgraced the Church of God in this country," as our worthy Archbishop rightly expresses it.

With sincere and affectionate respect,

I remain, my dear Lord

Your most obd't and humble servant and brother in Christ

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Boston.

To the Rt. Rev. Dr. Conwell;

Bishop of Philadelphia.

Boston, April 6th, 1821.

Hogan publicly replied on April 13:

An answer to a letter from Dr. Chevereux, of Boston, and communicated to the public by Dr. Conwell.

Rt. Rev. Sir: Your decision, on the dispute between Rt. Rev. Henry Conwell and myself, which appeared in yesterday's Gazette, and is now handed about the city for electioneering purposes, has not a little astonished me; it being unjust, uncharitable and uncalled for.

In a letter of mine to Bishop Conwell, I proposed, not ordered, to leave the settlement of our differences to the Rt. Rev. John England, and yourself, thinking that you were a just and charitable Prelate; and indeed, if I had not, from under your own hand, proof of the contrary, I should still think so: but, Sir, your decision, which wants every condition which should accompany a just one, obliges me to rank you with your worthy Archbishop and learned brother of this city. It is probable, you never intended your letter for publication; in charity for you I hope so; but since it has been published by your Rt. Rev. Brother, who is making use of every means which interest or malice can devise, to injure me, I am obliged in self-justification to show the public that your decision only merits disapprobation and contempt. Need I tell you, Rt. Rev. Sir, that in order to have a decision just and charitable, it must be vested with certain conditions, and consonant with the Scriptures. First, in order to have a decision just, there are three conditions essentially requisite, *viz.*, authority, a full and satisfactory information of facts and circumstances, and integrity. Your decision has not been accompanied by these conditions. In the first place, you had no authority whatever to interfere, unless formally called upon, by both parties. You have not been called on: I only proposed to have you appointed as one of the mediators between Dr. Conwell and myself, of course you had no authority, and consequently your decision, so far from carrying any weight with it only excites the smile of any sensible man. Secondly, you had not a full and satisfactory knowledge of facts and circumstances; if any you had, it must be through the deceitful medium of Henry Bishop's misrepresentations, upon which, as an honest man and conscientious man, you had no right to decide against me until you had heard my defence. Whether your decision was accompanied by integrity or not, I shall leave others to judge, I shall only remark, that your having no authority to decide, and your being unacquainted with the facts and circumstances, relative to the subject in debate, must excite in the mind of every discerning man, sentiments of disrespect for your decisions in

general. Reflect, I entreat you, on the injury you do religion, by such improper interference; what must the unbeliever think of our Church Government, and decisions of her Prelates, when they behold yours. Will they not say, how different do the laws of society teach us to act? How much more impartial, honourable and just are the proceedings of men when governed by them, than when controlled by laws, which sanction such a decision as yours.

Suppose, for instance, Rt. Rev. Sir, a case of some importance had been at issue between two men of the world, that one proposes to leave it to the arbitration of two respectable men, suppose that they had not been as yet mutually consulted, if they would act as arbitrators, and yet one intrudes his decision in favour of his friend, regardless of the laws of justice and charity: what would the world think of such a man? What would you yourself, in the moments of reflection, think of him? How would you treat him if he appeared before you at the tribunal of confession; would you not (if by the precipitancy and injustice of his decision he injured his neighbor) bind him to restitution? You surely would, and let me entreat you to apply the remedy to yourself.

You and your Brethren complain of the severity of my pamphlets; pray, Sir, do you imagine I am something supernatural? Do you suppose I am devoid of the feelings of humanity? Do you believe I could be so indifferent and regardless of my character and reputation, as to allow you and your Brethren, to vilify and mangle it with impunity? No, Sir, I will not, nor shall not. The attack has been commenced on me, by your amiable countryman, Mr. De Barth; he has been supported in his unjust and unfeeling proceedings against me, by the Metropolitan.

It was my duty to defend myself; my pamphlets were not written for the purpose of exposing them, but since an exposure of their conduct was necessarily connected with my own justification, I have been obliged to lay it before the public. It is probable that Henry Bishop, may extort the decisions of several other Prelates, but, Rt. Rev. Sir, allow me to assure him and you, that under similar circumstances, I shall pay

their decisions as little deference as I do yours, at the same time professing my willingness to submit our unfortunate differences in this city, to any two prelates who would take the trouble of entering into a fair, and canonical investigation of the facts and circumstances that led to them.

I have the honor to be Rt. Rev. Sir.

Yours Respectfully,

WILLIAM HOGAN.

April 13th 1821.

P. S.—Several anonymous advertisements have appeared concerning our church differences, into which my name has been introduced; I think them beneath my notice. I look upon an anonymous intruder in the light of a ruffian-like assassin, and shall always treat him as such.

The subjoined communication appeared in Poulson's Advertiser of April 14:

To the Members of St. Mary's Church:

I request the public not to allow their judgment to be misled by a Communication, purporting to contain a letter from Dr. CHEVEREUX, of Boston, which appeared in the Philadelphia Gazette of yesterday; but to observe that being an anonymous advertisement, it may be genuine, or it may be issued, merely for the purpose of influencing the approaching election for Trustees.

If it be genuine, it is certainly not worthy of notice, as Dr, Chevereux cannot be competent to decide, having only heard the representations of one of the parties to this unfortunate dispute, and having no jurisdiction in this Diocess, it was highly improper in him to interfere, unless called upon by both parties as a mediator. All that I asked was a just and impartial hearing, as may be seen in my last pamphlet, where I requested, not ordered, to have my case investigated before Dr Chevereux and Dr. England.

WILLIAM HOGAN.

(April 13th.)

On the following day, this answer appeared on the part of the Bishop:

To the Members of St. Mary's Church:

In answer to the Caveat, which the Rev. WILLIAM HOGAN set forth in public print against the letter of Dr. CHEVERUS, Bishop of Boston, be it respectfully made known to the public, that the letter in question is genuine, and may be seen at Bernard Dornin's Book Store, South Fourth Street.

We beg further to remark, that it was far from being highly improper in the Rt. Rev. Writer to express his opinion, when applied to; and that his opinion is not formed on ex-parte information, but is the result of his judgment after having seen the case stated by the proper authority, and read the Pamphlets, which, whilst with some, they incontestably establish the defendant's innocence, had, with the Bishop of Boston, the diametrically opposite effect of demonstrating his guilt, so as to prompt him to write the letter objected to, which is here annexed for the reader's information.

(Then followed the letter from Bishop Cheverus which we adduced above).

Bishop England also wrote expressing his opinion, and we quote from his letter of April 12, as made public by Bishop Conwell:

I know not what may be the original fault in the Church of Philadelphia nor have I a right to pass judgment upon a case out of my own diocese; but I have been horror-struck at reading the publications which Mr. Hogan and his associates have disseminated. May God help the unfortunate Church of Philadelphia. It would be a great blessing if every vestige of what has been miscalled Catholicity in this country were blotted out, and that the field were left open and free to begin the preaching of the Gospel with the experience of the evils which have existed. The root of the evil lies deep, and if the Bishop and Mr. Hogan were both in Eternity, and St. Paul and St. Timothy in Philadelphia they could not establish the

Catholic religion upon the foundations that are laid in that city, and whilst they subsist there can be no good done : you have but one course to follow which is to attend to yourself, and leave the care of governing the Church to those whom the Holy Ghost has commissioned for that purpose.

I am &c. &c.

† J. B. of C.

Hogan published a rejoinder to this letter in the *Aurora* of April 28. That he probably criticized Bishop England in terms parallel to those he had used concerning Bishop Cheverus, may be gathered from the following letter of Bishop England's, also printed in the *Aurora*.

Sir :

Some friend has had the kindness to send me your letter of April 28, containing an address to me by the Rev. William Hogan, in which he states that a letter bearing my signature has appeared in a public print of your city, by which it appears, that I have, from the base and malignant misrepresentations of his enemies, condemned him unheard.

As I have, in your print, been brought before the public, I trust to your justice, for the space of a few lines in explanation.

I cannot conceive how my letter, bearing my signature, appeared in a public paper, as since I came to America, until now, I have not, except in this present instance, authorized the insertion of any letter in a public print.

I never wrote or expressed a condemnation or acquittal of Mr. Hogan in his disputes with the Bishop of Philadelphia, for these reasons :

First, I was never applied to for the purpose. Secondly, I have in my individual capacity, no authority to ascertain the case ; and, Thirdly, I do not, even at this moment, clearly understand the state of the dispute. I may add a fourth : I have more duty to perform than I can well attend to ; and

much as I regret the irregularities at Philadelphia, I am not anxious to volunteer in the concerns of another diocese, unless canonically called upon.

I have written a private letter to the Bishop of Philadelphia; but thinking that it was not usual to publish such a letter without the writer's leave, I did not anticipate the honor of again appearing in print in Philadelphia. I had been previously brought forward by Mr. Hogan, in a way that made me think I owed an explanation to the Bishop whom he assailed in his pamphlets. I accordingly wrote, as well as I can recollect, for I have not taken a copy of the letter, that although I was quite ignorant of the nature or merits of Mr. Hogan's case, I was shocked at his publication, and regretted finding my name introduced therein, and begged to assure Dr. Conwell, that its introduction was wholly unauthorized on my part; the expression of these sentiments was more diffuse, and the letter contained other matters; but I am quite certain that I used no other expression of condemnation; though I might have formed an imperfect opinion of the case from Mr. Hogan's pamphlets, and those of his supporters, which are the only documents that I have received.

I have passed no judgment of condemnation or acquittal; nor has this notice, imperfect as it may be, been founded upon the base and malignant misrepresentations of Mr. Hogan's enemies, unless he be pleased to bestow that epithet with its accompaniments, upon those adepts in writing, who have been kind enough to write a pastoral charge for the Bishop, that they might subsequently review it. I shall not dispute the propriety of styling them Mr. Hogan's enemies: I am inclined to believe they are so.

Mr. Hogan cannot complain of any injustice or impropriety in my expressing, in a private letter, as I now do in a public document, my opinion upon published books, treating of a subject which he was kind enough to admit, I understand, and in the principles of which I am deeply concerned. I have no hesitation in stating that the writers of these books and the writer of this letter, are at perfect variance as far as the latter can understand the case treated of, as to the meaning and

application of the quotations from canon law in the pamphlets; and supposing every fact stated in the pamphlet to be unquestionably true, still their publication was not only unwarrantable, but as I humbly conceive deserving a more severe epithet than I would wish to use.

Bishop England's letter shows that both sides had erred in using the names and writings of outside Prelates without their concurrence. But now that the controversy had reached fever heat, both sides used every ready expedient towards influencing the election for Trustees, which was to be held during that same month of April.

[To be continued.]

ITEMS TRANSATLANTIC

Revue des Questions Historiques, July, 1913.

Articles: Les Angevins à Raguse (1384-1385) *suite et fin*.

Le Baron des Adrets (1512-1586), *suite et fin*.

Grèves et rentrées judiciaires au XVIII^e siècle. Le grand exil du Parlement de Besançon (1759-1761).

Un agent de police secrète (1800-1817), Jean-Marie François (*à suivre*).

Mélanges: La campagne de Sabinus en Normandie (56 ans avant J.-C.)

Une carrière militaire sous le Premier Empire (1809-1813). Le Lieutenant de Bontin (*suite et fin*).

What promises to be an article of sustained interest is that on the secret police agent, which opens with the following *paragraph* (we beg to translate it for that possible minority of our perusers who may prefer it in English):

“Every evening, throughout the Consulate and Empire, Napoleon was wont to receive from the Minister of the Police a memorandum posting him in terse phrase on the public feeling and the day’s events. This memorandum usually covered the three heads: *Paris, Home, and Foreign*. Under these was traced the mobile smile or frown of the capital, the drift of provincial and foreign news, the course of incidents bearing upon the peace of the land, report of arrests and discharges, any note of seditious literature, of the movements of refugees, any acts of outlawry, &c. There might also be mention of eco-

nomie matters: market fluctuations, price of staples, rate of exchange, &c., &c. And never did Napoleon forget to scan the memorandum. For his colossal genius, it was a light thing to dismount from soaring vistas to petty minutiae; whilst he would now and anon pay no less heed to the chat of the drawing room than to political alliances.

All these memoranda, original or copy, survive in the National Archives."

The clever gleaner of so much secret intelligence was long latent in anonymous obscurity; but nowadays a file of opportune state papers has brought him to light in the person of aforesaid Jean-Marie François, who was born on April 25, 1752, at Chauffailles, Saône-et-Loire. This opening chapter of his career shows him to be an accommodating and shifty sort of character; one that would have served for a rare morsel to Carlyle's fuliginous or gleaming art, as digestion impeded or helped (had Carlyle and Jean-Marie met on the Witches' Heath). The chapter pauses over Jean-Marie's detention in the Temple, for "emigration and conspiracy": but since it appears that he thence passed shortly into Fouché's cabinet, and became ultimately the same kind of confidential poster to the Bourbons that he had proved to the Empire: clearly his career offers prospects of readable developments.

Among the book notices in July number of *Questions Historiques*, one observes the advent of a new life of Philip II of Spain; rather, a judicial study of some sides of his baffling character, by the Danish historian, Bratli (Paris, 1912). The French reviewer's estimation of this work is so high that one is the more tantalized because his report of it leaves us in admiration of a worthy project *in posse*, but still sparingly achieved *in esse*. However, we learn that Bratli wrote after direct and scrupu-

lous research of his texts, and in true historic spirit. The positive merits of his volume (of modest size withal, 300 pages octavo, with six plates . . .), appear to be most marked in three chapters of discriminating bibliographic introduction, fresh from the mint, as it were; and likewise in the core of the work, on Philip's personality proper. The subsequent matter is described to be documentary erudition, pure and solid. Bratli's distinct advance over even the best of earlier biographers of Philip II purports to be in the direction of genuine historic portraiture, in contrast with literary approximations or foils therein, just as the past writers happened to hit or miss the chalk-line of dramatic or narrative requirements. Accordingly, doubtless most people have hitherto thought of Philip II in sympathy with the *Æsopian* moral drawn by Madame Arvède Barine, from *lioness and puppy*. Not kindness moved the lioness to preserve and adopt the puppy, but simply on the day when puppy tumbled into her cage, *Madame de Lionne* had eaten her fill, and wanted other diversion. In fine, by this artistic manner of portrayal, the *beast* in Philip was humane; his humanity, cruel. So, too, Victor's harsh lines in *La Légende des Siècles* (*La Rose de l'Infante*), have contributed to fix the prevalent conception of Philip as a sombre tyrant, scarcely relieved by significant native goodness in any respect. On the negative score, the French reviewer notes a lack of proportion in Bratli's judgments; for instance, why did he not extend his unbiased scrutiny upon Mary Tudor, conjointly with Philip? But he seems to have left her very much *in statu quo*, not venturing to sift, or exactly to balance, the existing inadequate accounts of her. Neither has Bratli reached consummate results in his treatment of the economic background of Philip's reign. For one thing, the French reviewer seriously discounts accepted views of

Spain's fabulous wealth by way of the Indies and America, great cargoes whereof are supposed to have enriched intermediate pirates without landing in Philip's coffers; whereas the practical strength of that foreign asset would have lain rather in the readiness of German bankers to grant carefully-secured credit to Charles V. and Philip after him. Furthermore, Bratli has too slightly reviewed Philip's immense labor of directing a descriptive, historical, statistical and geographical survey of Spain, down to her very "wretchedest" villages (a gigantic expansion of Domesday Book, so to speak, to fit Spanish conditions at their acme of royal power). The said survey had proceeded from the close of 1574, and the product was already known through eight volumes of documents in the Escorial, comprising questions and answers on 636 *pueblos* in the Provinces of Madrid, Toledo, Ciudad Real, Cuenca and Guadalajara; but now Bratli points to a greatly magnified scale of the like survey, whose lore is "buried" in seven huge folios among the Archives of Simancas. He "points" to the same, but leaves the contents for future elucidation. Yet all these economic labors, together with his known patronage of scientific cartography, belong to the sum and substance of Philip's acts and personality; the French reviewer charitably surmising that they tend to reflect him in the light of a monarch who governed at least the Spanish portion of his dominions with some degree of rightly-principled beneficence. Still, tentative though the work of Bratli has been, it is important for its "expressed ideas, its discussions and promptings to new research, and its array of fresh documentary sources." Lastly, it appeals alike to the general intelligence and to formal scholarship.

Revue de Paris, October 1, 1913.

Two papers in this issue seemed to us profitable to note for their passing or permanent lessons; first and principally, a graphic depiction of *Society in Brazil*, by Monsieur Paul Adam. He preludes the Brazilian study with an appreciative analysis of its Portuguese antecedents; and evidently he values the Catholic origins of both Portuguese and Brazilian civilization. In Brazil he discerns two broadly dominating social factors: conservative, if somewhat monastic, piety on the part of the Catholic stock; refined rationalism in the modern "liberal" Brazilians. The Brazilian modernist is likely to patronize educational Geneva; the Catholic stock, Louvain. Practically, the Catholics favor internal improvements; the refined rationalists dilate on politics abstractly. "And so it is that two creeds are contending for the land of Brazil. The one is traditional idealism, as embodied in the *Conquistadores*, Catholic and constructive, military, patriotic and national. The other is idealism bent on new departures, positivist in its mission, scientific, self-centered in the individual, and rather anarchist than socialist as regards the future." In so far as Mr. Paul Adam discerns correctly, there is no hesitation in our humble mind as touching the Catholic advantage in this brief summary of the two dominating social "creeds" in Brazil. On both present and future lines, a conservatively organized *Catholic* Brazil offers more inviting traits in the way of national neighborliness than a refined rationalistic Brazil steering by spontaneous gravitation towards either intellectual or moral or spiritual or political "anarchy." All of Mr. Adam's diversified character sketches are vivid; we would but append the following in particular, from his gallery of steamer types on the voyage from Lisbon to sundry ports of Brazil. "Here were the repose, the dignity and the foxiness of the Indian blended into harmony with the gruff Lusitanian.

grasp of trade ; such an archaic heirloom in the land of mariners whose training dates back to the Punic and Hellenic cycles of antiquity. All these elements conspired to evolve yonder substantial capitalist, who takes his walks in a brand new suit each day, and might easily pass for a fiscal member of the diplomatic corps." Portugal, it seems, has retained somewhat of a strangling monopoly grip on the Brazilian market ; that is, in the hands of the transplanted Portuguese mercantile class, which manages to hold prices at the top notch in Rio (Montevideo is popularly supposed to tip the beam for South American luxury ; but according to Mr. Paul Adam, the cost of living in Rio is not only staggering to moderate purses, but ominous of grave disturbances to come).

The other paper that caught our attention in *Revue de Paris* deals with a tougher problem than the society of homogeneous Brazil ; to wit, the *Future of Turkey*. Mr. Pierre Arminjon, writer of the article, uses quite frankly the tone of a special pleader for French interests in Turkey (nor herein would we blame him) but he nevertheless presents a few considerations of recognized common significance, in France or elsewhere. To begin with, all the world knows that France has a certain almost prescriptive title in the Levant as the representative nation in that quarter for European manners, language and customs : which title comes down in unbroken pedigree since the very days of the Crusades. Italy lay nearer, as mere distance goes ; but the universal medium of exchange between the sometime Eastern, later Ottoman Empire, and European civilization continues to be the French language, not Italian, German or English. Mr. Arminjon then tells us an old and familiar story, when he reminds us that French is their alternate language with Ottoman public men. Their second nature,

one may not impertinently add, in case they speak French as flexibly and as idiomatically as they write it in their ordinary mercantile correspondence. According to Mr. Arminjon, this "privileged situation" of France in Turkey is owing not simply to "the qualities of our language, the opulence, diversity and bright beauty of our literature, but especially to our schools and our missions. . . . At this date our missionaries command every facility to pursue their apostolate, and thereby diffuse our language, manners and influence." He deplores the possibility of an "Orthodox" occupation of Turkey: as though that would reduce everything distinctive and spontaneous in the Levant to the rigid absolutism of Russian autocracy. One thing is not very plain to us in his assurance that Islam is no barrier to Western missions; namely, how, then, the chronic elegy, in those parts, of a persecuted Christianity at the hands of Turkish officials? Be this as it may, we are told that if Turkey is allowed free course in working out a national destiny, most of the essential reforms at stake will not conflict with religious precepts (Christian religious precepts, the inference follows). The solution of a Turkey detached from European control is acknowledged to bristle with difficulties; but the French pleader trusts that these are not insurmountable if only Europe will keep hands off and exercise reasonable patience. Neither is the composite population of Turkey all *Islam*, by any means; for the Turk is but one strand in the conglomerate Ottoman "cable," along with its Greek and Circassian strands, its Arab, Syrian, Armenian, Kurd and Jewish complements: Still again, it is urged, Islam has not prevented reforms in Egypt: save that the writer is far from desiring a *British* direction of reforms in Turkey, lest there, as in Egypt, English influence would avail to impair the prestige of the French language and manners. Chiefs, re-

sources and autonomy are Turkey's instant prime requisites in the cause of evolving her national destiny; where we beg to leave Mr. Arminjon and his hopeful speculations to the drama of events: God-speed to their happy and peaceful termination, be the utmost hazard of our own views or forecast on Turkey.

Deutsche Rundschau, October, 1913.

Two book-reviews merit particular notice in this number. First, the *Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans* (1778-1815), by the Marquise de la Tour de Pin (Paris, 1913; 2 volumes, c. 800 pages, total). The German critic assures us: "Her *Journal* belongs not only to the best in its domain of memoirs, but to the best in modern letters altogether." Madame la Marquise, a *grande dame* at the Court of Louis XVI, writes for her son: but her object is much wider than personal reminiscence; In that era of disintegration she felt conscious of a highly moral, conservative mission; and this dignity reflects itself in the substance and style of her *Journal*. The German critic freely credits her with the properties of a great writer; she strikes the right accent and has intrinsic style: selects with true insight between good grist and chaff, and whilst there are passages of minor moment, even these are dignified by their historic setting and the force of lofty character. Madame la Marquise was present at Versailles during the tumult of October 5, 1789; her husband, the Marquis, being of the guards on that occasion. After two fugitive years in America she returned to France and had pacific encounters with Napoleon; each of them impressed with the other's born distinction. Her sketches of Napoleon, Marie-Antoinette, Talleyrand, Josephine, are succinct, graphic, definitive within the respective "frames" thereof; so that there is palpably much cause in her memoirs for the Ger-

man critic's warm commendation. He reckons it not the least mark of her nobility and heroism that she bore six children during the Terror and subsequent Revolution.

Next, in *Deutsche Rundschau's* review column, lighted we on *Die Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm in ihrer Uhrgestalt*; or *fac simile* reproduction of those invincible Tales in their original dress, as they were launched on their unpremeditated glorious career, a round hundred years ago. Editor Friedrich Panzer, who fathers this praiseworthy enterprise (Munich, 1913), supplies an introductory chapter, showing the process of the compilation in the Grimm Brothers' "workshop." Jakob was the scientific delver and adept in mythologic, heroic and popular legend; Wilhelm the furbisher and finer stylist for fashioning the material into its classic perfection of the folklore stamp. *Sinite parvulos*; and let no historicker expert expunge from his tables a lenient space of storage for the Märchen Grimm; since otherwise must he insulate his faculties against all subtle charmers of our primeval world as it existed in Hercynia, Teutobergia, Thuringia, and farthest Pomerania.

We were fain to linger with various other products of the Fatherland in these modest notes, but for the sake of its cumulative interest in a single issue, we will use the residue of our Transatlantic column to call attention to the October number of *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid. The contents are as follows:

Adquisiciones de la Academia durante el primer semestre del año 1913 (pp. 193-231).

I. Nuevas lapidas romanas de Avila.

II. (*Critique of*) Historia critico-literaria de la farmacia, y Bibliografía farmacéutica, por el doctor Agustin Murúa y Valerdi.

III. (*Critique of*) La España del Siglo XIX.

IV. Geografía Postal Universal, por D. Eduardo Moreno Rodríguez.

V. El castillo de Aillón (Segovia).

VI. La cerámica celtibera de Aillón (Segovia),

VII. Antigüedades de Aillón (Segovia). (Trio of antiquarian papers).

VIII. Sebastián de Belalcázar, adelantado de Popayan y fundador de Quito.

IX. Inscripciones romanas de El Viso y Alcaracejos, en la Provincia de Córdoba.

X. Jovellanos y los Colegios de las Ordenes Militares en la Universidad de Salamanca (*Continuación*). (Pp. 281-326).

XI. La aviación militar en España, baja el reinado de Carlos IV, en 1792. (Pp. 326-328).

Plus, Documentos oficiales. Variedades. Noticias.

The synopsis of regulations for students of the Military Orders in the University of Salamanca throws much light on the contemporary scholastic routine and morals, as may be perceived from a glance at the topical heads, or subheads, of the current instalment thereof:

Del Analista. Del Archivero. Chapter IV treats of the General Community, covering its councils, distribution of time, devotions, refectory hours and pastimes. Chapter V is on *Disciplina*: dress, indoor and public behavior, exits by day and by night (if any); absences, return to College. *Titulo II* deals with *Studies*; the Humanities; chair of Humanities; method of teaching the Humanities.

If the same synopsis differs but little in scope and substance from schedules of mediæval studies in other countries, it still has its peculiar Spanish complexion, and is also expressed (so it seems to the casual reader) with superior lucidity and conciseness.

The paper on "Military Aviation in Spain under the reign of Carlos IV, in 1792," may possibly sound like a sober flight from one of Don Quijote's windmills; but it is nothing of the sort, and simply renders an authentic account of a genuine experiment in military engineering, for testing the feasibility of a certain "globo ærostatico," or ærial watchtower: *atalaya de observación*; this, too, all the way back in 1792, when so many progressive people incline to fancy Spain still benighted in her slow twilight of the "dark ages." In fact, the experiment was so complete and gratifying for its day and object, that now the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* takes pains to transcribe the report of it, for the greater credit of Spain at home or abroad. The incident was first brought out by the *Memorial de Artillería*, July 31, 1913; the Royal Academy's *Boletín* merely designing to give it wider circulation before whom it may concern. The term *globo*, be it observed, by no means denotes an ordinary balloon; because the contrivance was dirigible, could be manœuvred at all hours, though subject, indeed, to untoward freaks of the wind and weather. The invention aimed at nothing further than operations of scouting and reconnoitering; but for these it appeared capable of practical application and useful development. This paper in the *Boletín* is a description of the official experiment as conducted in the presence of Carlos IV and select military experts. There is an accompanying reprint of the manuscript report at the time (date of November 15, 1792), by the *Conde de Aranda*, D. Pedro Pablo Aberca de Boleo, to D. José Pedraza, Brigadier of Artillery. As the *Boletín* appropriately remarks, it is a "datum of honor for the modern history of Spain, in the two-fold aspect of science and strategy."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LIFE OF THADDEUS STEVENS. A study in American Political History, especially in the Period of the Civil War and Reconstruction, by James Albert Woodburn, Ph. D., LL.D. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis.

In this portly volume of 620 pages Professor James A. Woodburn of the Indiana University offers a detailed study of the life and political activities of Thaddeus Stevens, "the dominant figure in the American Congress" during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods of our national history. Though born and educated in Vermont, his political career was identified with the State of Pennsylvania whither he came in 1814 at the age of 22 years. He began the practice of law at Gettysburg and soon forged to the front of the Adams County bar. From 1833 to 1841 he served in the Pennsylvania Legislature. As he had been elected on the ticket of the Anti-Masonry party he made several bitter arraignment of the craft and even introduced a bill for its suppression. In one of his speeches he said:

Out of the number of law judges in the State of Pennsylvania, eighteen-twentieths are Masons; and twenty-two out of twenty-four states of the Union are now governed by Masonic chief magistrates. Although not a twentieth part of the voters of this commonwealth and of the United States are Masons, yet they have contrived, by concert, to put themselves into eighteen out of twenty of the offices of profit and power.

During his legislative career he was a vigorous defender of the system of free schools. After eight years of retirement he was elected to the Thirty-first Congress on the Whig ticket. During the four years he spent at the national Capital at this period of his life he took a determined stand against the extension of slavery, which was then the question of the hour. His severe denunciation of the institution of slavery deeply incensed the Southern members of the House. Five years more of private life ensued and in 1858 Stevens was again returned to the House as a member of the newly formed

Republican party "pledged to a positive and aggressive stand against slavery extension." He now entered upon the most important part of his career and was "more than any other single man, destined to bear the brunt of legislative burdens for the next ten years, and that, too, in an era of great change and revolution".

Nearly four hundred pages are devoted to the portrayal of Stevens' activities in the years before the war, to his part in the solution of the immense financial problems of the war, and his views on the various plans for reconstructing the Confederate States. A detailed account is given of his part in the impeachment proceedings against President Johnson, and an apology is made for his rather vindictive design of confiscating the estates of ex-Confederates as a war indemnity. Space is also given to the financial difficulties of the nation subsequent to the close of hostilities. The final chapter gives a friendly account of the last days and personal characteristics of the great commoner.

The book gives evidence of considerable research particularly among the newspapers and Congressional records of the period. A praiseworthy feature is the insertion of liberal quotations from Stevens' letters and more notable speeches. The style would be improved by the omission of such colloquialisms as: "This speech did not go down very well with Southern members" (p. 100); "he was just coming to be an active participant" (p. 128); "interjected a little ginger into the discussion" (p. 140); "the administration needed nerve and a stiffened spine" (p. 176), and numerous other similar phrases. The name of Galusha A. Grow is incorrectly printed Crow (p. 130).

Apart from these minor blemishes, the author has succeeded in presenting a carefully written and interesting "contribution to the study of an important period and character in our history".

JOSEPH J. MURPHY, D.D.

MAINE TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION. 1913.

The Hon. Edward de V. Morrell responded to the Toast: "The Catholic Church and the United States; the ideal Re-

public and the ideal Church ". His address, bearing print of Bar Harbor, Maine, August 6, 1913, pays a glowing tribute to the Church of his adoption, and the State portion of his remarks ought to relieve nervous agitators outside the pale, of their false fears on the subject of Catholic "encroachments" upon civil and political freedom in U. S. A.

LORETTO CENTENNIAL DISCOURSES 1812-1912. Pp. 173. Introduction by Archbishop Glennon. St. Louis. 1912. B. Herder.

This little volume bears the local souvenir stamp, and commemorates the good works of that nowadays extensive Teaching Order, the Kentucky Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross. *Deus providebit*. Casual readers will find their chief interest, no doubt, in the reminder that Catholic institutions can be just as vital and permanent in the "untrodden wilderness" as in great cities: given the right propagators of the faith. A backwoods chapel and the grandest of cathedrals are as twin Tabernacles; for the mere multiplication of candle power simply intensifies without radically altering the guiding power of divine light. Native heroism, to be sure, seems to stand out more boldly amid the obstacles and resistances of a pioneer district; yet crowded society has also immense room for heroic missionaries of light and peace. This fact is brought home to us with new force by Archbishop Glennon's *Introduction*. He strikes a telling note of distinction between true and false *militants*. Modern women of the world strive to "emancipate" society by coarsely unsexing womanhood; but the reasonable daughters of God and Mary find no lack of actual and potential outlets for their "militancy" within the peaceable sphere of Catholic truth and its wide ramifications in home and school, Church and the nobler charities. Just mark the contrast between such a movement as the Kentucky Loretto Sisterhood and the screaming agitations of contemporary British Suffragettes. Here have we swarms of bees in their proper hives, yielding honey of the purest; yonder, vain buzzing distractors, compassing State and Church like *bees*, true enough, but like those angry bees of the Passion, tormenting the Prince of Peace on his march to Calvary.

"They gathered about me like bees, and burned like fire among thorns".

LA NOUVELLE FRANCE. Revue Mensuelle: Science. Lettres. Arts. Québec. Tome XII. 1913.

Barring summer tourists and certain mercantile houses, comparatively few people think of Quebec apart from its fixed spot on the map of Canada. When one considers that Quebec has rounded upwards of three centuries of its distinctively individual vitality, neither is one surprised to find the French side of that robust old civilization worthily reflected in this competent magazine of higher culture. Sobriety of both subjects and tone impresses one at first glance in the numbers before us. There is, to begin with, a theological serial on *La Grâce Capitale du Christ*; the chapters *Victoire et Chansons* produce fresh matter from Quebec Archives on the French and Indian times; and there is a running survey of our Southwestern Cliff Dwellers: *Au Pays des Troglodytes*. Another elaborated topic discusses historic dealings of the Balkan States with the Holy See. Special items of history and science complete the body of contents; and there is a department, *Pages Romaines*, of authentic news and comment from *Urbs*. A letter from Abyssinia, by "Brother Pascal, Capuchin Missionary Apostolic", newly reminds us of the ecumenical continuity of the Holy See; for this Canadian Missionary now labors among some of the oldest Christian converts (unfortunately weakened by the Coptic schism), whereas the St. Lawrence region of his earlier field was in a world unknown, if divined at all, during the first fifteen centuries. The pervasive aroma of loyalty to the Holy Father in this Quebec review, simply attests the truth that State allegiance is by no means incompatible with much fervency of devotion to the Prince of Apostles. We trust there is a long and prosperous career before *La Nouvelle France*; Quebec, for those acclimated to its rigorous winters and fugitive spring mildness, ought to prove an ideal citadel for the finer arts and letters. The society is of cosmopolitan calibre, if still strongly addicted to its homesoil habits; and the ways of life in Quebec are less agitated with the rush and hustle of business than at Montreal, or in most of our American trade marts.

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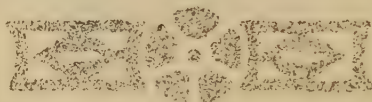
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